

T R A V E L S
IN
EGYPT, NUBIA, HOLY LAND,
MOUNT LIBANON,
AND
C Y P R U S,
IN THE YEAR 1814.

BY HENRY LIGHT

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P R E F A C E.

THE writer of the following pages was in garrison at Malta in the year 1814, and obtained leave to travel in the countries he describes. Curiosity and amusement were his object: he kept a journal and memorandums of what he saw, and made sketches of the most interesting places. They were meant to recall to his memory what he was not likely to visit again.

In the year following, having returned to England, he gave part of his journal in Nubia, at the request of a friend, to the reverend Robert Walpole, who was about to publish a collection of papers on the East; and at the same time offered his drawings; but they were declined.

He has since been induced to arrange his notes on the East into one connected series, and present them to the

public, with such engravings as he considered most interesting.

However frequently Egypt and Syria have been visited in modern times, yet they must always offer something new to the accurate observer; and their connexion with the civilized state of Europe must always excite interest.

All who are capable of reflecting on ancient history must have felt the difficulty of proceeding on it with satisfaction, from the obscurity that overspreads its beginning in every nation. Among those of the East, this obscurity is rendered darker by the mixture of fable with which their histories abound; though for matter of information they are plentifully stored. But the two countries in the East distinguished beyond the rest for monuments still preserved in them of the most remote antiquity, which afford in themselves materials for obtaining information independent of all other circumstances, are where the Nile and Ganges have their course. Though so many travellers, ancient and modern, have visited the former, hardly any can be said to have visited the Ganges for purposes of historical or philosophical inquiry. Yet its regions are known to possess remains of buildings of high antiquity; and as many more are believed to exist, well worthy of examination, though

unknown to their modern European sovereigns. We have great obligations to the society at Calcutta for the advances made by them in Eastern learning; and the stores they have opened may be used to great advantage for the elucidation of ancient Eastern history. Their transactions have shown a connexion, in very remote times, between Egypt and India; which would enable a traveller, properly qualified, who could visit both those countries, to dispel a part of the darkness of their ancient memorials. For none of such a character has ever seen them both, nor had the means of estimating, by actual observation, their mutual relations and resemblances, in those remains which time has left us; who has been able to compare ancient and modern writers together upon the objects they relate to. The great increase of information upon this subject which has been collected by travellers of the present generation, might be employed for the most valuable purposes of literature, if any man could undertake the arduous task of a tour upon the Nile and the Ganges. Such an undertaking would be worthy of royal encouragement, and deserves the serious consideration of those amongst us who are patrons of learning.

A recent example of distinguished note, and not many years old, will serve to illustrate these remarks. When the Hindoo Sepoys, who came into Egypt by the Red Sea, at

the close of the former war, to assist our army there, were introduced to the ruined temples on the Nile, and beheld the figures of the Egyptian deities contained in them, they immediately worshipped them. Here was a light brought to dispel the gloom of some thousands of years, and to prove the reality of what could only have been conjecture without such a comparison. How many similar proofs of the same kind might occur to minds well informed on these subjects, and prepared to carry their observations to as great extent as they will bear!

From the connexion between India and Egypt, we may turn to the New World, and even there imagine we can trace some link of general union. The researches of Mr. Humboldt have proved the existence of pyramids and hieroglyphics amongst the Mexicans; and the earliest accounts of these people inform us, that pictures were substituted for a mode of writing.

The traditions of that once powerful nation point out the migrations of their ancestors from the north: beyond these their history is involved in still greater darkness than that of Egypt or India; and there is less possibility, perhaps, of drawing the veil from it: yet this should not discourage succeeding ages, and the enterprises of travellers are amongst

the most likely means of obtaining information on that subject.

In the following pages the writer has noticed the existence of Christian remains in the temples of Nubia. He was struck by the probability of the progress of our religion having been regular in its ascent up the Nile. The travels of Mr. Bankes and Buckhardt will, perhaps, prove whether he was right in imagining Christianity might be thus traced to Abyssinia. Yet, if these travellers have not confined themselves to the shores of the Nile, the field is still left open for speculation and discovery.

The descriptions given in this work claim no other merit than fidelity. The remarks on the antiquities were not trusted to memory, but committed to paper on the spot; and though many of the drawings were made whilst surrounded by the armed inhabitants of the neighbourhood, their accuracy may be relied on.

It has been the object of the writer to avoid touching on subjects before described; yet it has been sometimes necessary to do so, particularly in Holy Land, to connect the narrative: for this he claims indulgence.

The anecdotes he has introduced seemed to him descriptive of the manners of the people which he visited, or called for by the nature of the subject. Though to severer readers they may appear superfluous, yet by others they may be thought interesting.

The observations on the military defences of the countries described, have been formed into a separate chapter, to avoid interrupting the narrative, and to facilitate reference to them.

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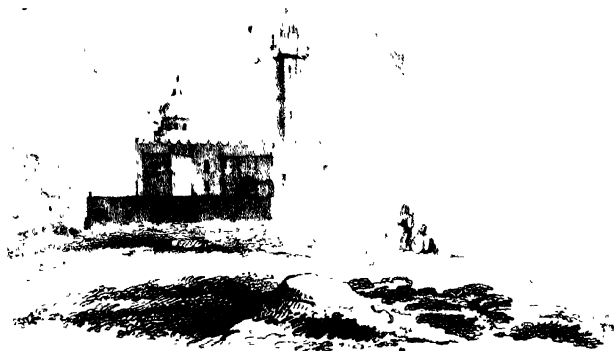
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PART. THE FIRST.



CHAPTER I.

Alexandria—Government—Frank inhabitants—Fate of an officer of engineers—
Frank society—Police—Feast of the eve of Mahomet's birth-day—Arab in-
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Rosetta—State of that town and neighbourhood.

HAVING a strong desire to visit Egypt and the Holy Land, as the countries from which religion and the arts were derived to Europe, I obtained leave of absence from Malta, for the purpose of gratifying my curiosity, and embarked, on the 17th of February, 1814, attended by an English soldier of my company, on board a vessel belonging to a Greek mer-

chant, commanded by an Illyrian, with a crew of the same nation. We sailed from Malta in the evening of the 17th, and on the 26th I had the satisfaction to see the celebrated coast of Alexandria running in a low line just above the horizon, in which Pompey's pillar appeared rising from the water as the mast of a ship, and the Castle of the Pharos as a rock.

An attempt had been made for the first time by the Pasha to introduce a system of quarantine: and though our ship brought a clean bill of health, yet, as Malta had been so lately infected, we were obliged to hoist the yellow flag. By the influence of Mr. Lee, the British consul, we had pratique on the 1st of March; and his kindness taught me how to procure the best means of passing the fortnight of my stay at Alexandria. My lodging was at a sort of inn, kept by an Italian; but Mr. Lee's table and house were my chief resource.

It is useless to dwell on the antiquities of this place, which have so often been described by travellers, and so well by Pococke and Denon. I visited them all; and contrasted, with some feelings of melancholy, the present abandoned and almost depopulated state of the town and neighbourhood, with the idea I had formed of the flourishing city of former days. Of this few vestiges remain: its extent, however, may still be traced, even to the ruin called the Arabs' tower, fifteen miles to the westward of the present town. One

circumstance relative to Pompey's pillar struck me, and seems not to have been mentioned by any preceding traveller,—that amongst the Arabs and Syrians it takes the name of “Awmoode Issaweer*.”)

I found this city under the government of Mahommed Ali, with the title of Pasha of Egypt, who obtained possession of it after our expedition in 1807; previous to which it had always been considered independent of the Pashalic, and was governed by a chief appointed by the Grand Signor.

The present governor of Alexandria was a nephew of the Pasha, a young man of the name of Haleel, with the title of Bey, of no marked character; at least, in a formal visit of ceremony which I paid him with the consul, he said nothing to show it. He was directed in civil affairs by a dependant of the Pasha (with whom, by the marriage of his daughter to Haleel Bey, he was connected), named Hadjee Osman, who acted as chief of the customs; and, where their immediate interests were not concerned, were considered to conduct

* In a note to Volney (English translation, 3d edit. 8vo.), it appears that he agrees with Savary in calling it the column of Severus.

See also note in Walpole's *Memoirs on Turkey*, p. 375; in which it is called “the column of the colonnades,”—Amoud el Sawary. This was not the term applied by the people of the East in my hearing. I made one person write down in Arabic what he called it, and I copied عَمُود السَّوَّارِ. In Richardson's *Arabic Lexicon*, colonnade is not expressed by the word “Sawary.”

themselves equitably to the inhabitants. The number of these had been much reduced by the plague of the preceding year; supposed before that time to have amounted to twelve thousand, of which seven thousand had been carried off by it.

About twenty foreign merchants inhabit the Frank okellahs; which last word derives from "El Kalaat," a castle, and is well applied, as they are buildings generally of considerable size, built in a square, enclosed by the four sides of the okellah, to which there is only one entrance; thus the communication is quickly cut off with the town in case of plague, and in any sudden tumult of the Mahometan population is easily barricaded. Formerly the okellahs contained the consulates of the foreign nations trading with Alexandria; they were held sacred by the Turks, and afforded shelter to criminals and others who fled to them for protection. There were only two English houses of commerce at Alexandria. The season of the year in which I arrived was the most agreeable to Europeans. The country outside the gate of the outer walls, leading to Rosetta, was green as far as the lake Mareotis, and part in the neighbourhood of Aboukir cultivated. The wild flowers growing amongst the grass spread a delightful fragrance.

It was with sensations of pride that I traversed the ruined redoubts erected by the French, and saw the scene of the

memorable battle of the 21st of March, where a stone still marks the spot on which Sir Ralph Abercromby fell.

Though Alexandria contains so many Franks, yet every thing is Eastern. Buffaloes are yoked to carts; droves of camels supply the place of horses. The fellahs or labourers are driven to work as slaves by the Turkish task-masters. The bazars are shaded with mats, and the shops contain a solitary shopman, sitting cross-legged on the counter. Numerous coffee-houses enable the idle to lounge away their time at Eastern games, amongst which I rarely saw chess.

I found, almost as soon as I had landed in Egypt, that I might consider my travels begun under favourable auspices; for an English ship, in which I should have taken my passage from Malta, had not particular circumstances prevented, had been wrecked off Lake Bourlos, and gone to pieces almost as soon as she struck; that two or three of the passengers and crew had been drowned, and the rest escaped on shore with great difficulty, having lost every thing but the clothes they wore.

The fate of an officer of engineers, of the name of Ber-
rington, was singular. A fatality attended him which seemed to mark him for destruction. He had prepared himself for much research in Egypt, had provided himself with instruments and books of every kind, had obtained letters of recommendation to the Pasha to forward his views, and had

seized the earliest opportunity, by the safest and best conveyance, of leaving Malta in an English ship. Our views of travel were different, and we had determined to go by separate ships; by which lucky circumstance I avoided sharing his fate. He escaped with great difficulty, having remained on board with the captain to the last moment. They committed themselves to the waves together, and by the help of one of the yards, succeeded in reaching the shore, after having nearly exhausted their strength during a long struggle. "I felt myself gradually loosening my hold," said this ill-fated officer, "when I touched the ground with my feet; this gave my companion and myself new vigour; we sprang forward to the beach, and were saved." The sequel of his adventures was equally disastrous: Having continued at Alexandria a few days, he set off for Cairo, where he remained till after my departure for Upper Egypt, and then crossed the desert with a caravan to Suez; during which journey he was robbed of his provisions, and almost starved: he slept in the same tent with persons infected with the plague, of whom two died in the night of that disorder. On arriving at Suez, he met with such obstacles to his farther progress, that he returned almost immediately by another caravan to Cairo: this was overtaken in the desert by the simoom winds, whose violence caused the death of many of the caravan, but which he luckily escaped.

On his return to Cairo, the plague raged violently; and,

though constantly exposed to it, he left that city in health. He returned to Alexandria, where, he embarked on board a Turkish vessel for Malta. In this passage the elements were again opposed to him—his ship was driven by contrary winds to the coast of the Morea, where he landed; traversed the country to the coast opposite Zante, in the hot season of the year; caught its prevalent fever, of which he died at Zante, after a short illness.

The Frank society at Alexandria holds a medium between Eastern and European manners; visits are always ended by the introduction of coffee, which the visitor is to consider as a hint that it is time for him to go. The carnival is celebrated, balls are given, and I found *coteries* and *com-mérages* usual in confined circles. The meals are taken, as in the southern climates of Europe, at mid-day, and followed by a supper at nine o'clock. The supply of wine was precarious, though the distance between the Greek islands and Alexandria is so short. The only wine I tasted there was the commonest red Cyprus, bitter and disagreeable. Its import is checked by the heavy duty laid on it by the Pasha.

The peace and order of the city are improved by its change of masters, owing to the strictness and severity of the Pasha. Crimes and punishments seemed to be rare; the only instance of capital punishment that had lately occurred was in an Arab, who possessed a garden among the ruins of the

Arab village; he had been in the habit, of decoying people, particularly women, into his garden, as a place of intrigue; and, with the help of a female, contrived to surprise and strangle them: this continued for some months; many inhabitants were missed, and he was suspected. He was, at last, induced, from fear of discovery, to murder his accomplice, which led to his conviction: he was hanged, as is usual, by a rope thrown over the walls attached to his neck, and then drawn up by the Arab population of the town.

A young Levantine, who had been secretary to Elfi Bey, and seized at the time of the massacre of the Mamelouks, but escaped by the protection of the favourites of the Pasha, observed to me, that the government of Alexandria, previous to its being in the possession of the present Pasha, had been under a military governor and cadi: the former supreme; the latter bought his place at Constantinople from some slave of the seraglio, through merchants to whom it was first disposed of; who might be Christians, but were obliged to sell the office to a Mahometan. The customs had been in the hands of a Christian, who acted as captain of the port, and chief custom-house officer. At present, law-suits between natives and Levantines not under the protection of consuls, were settled by the cadi. Franks had their disputes arbitrated by their respective consuls: law-suits between natives and Franks were settled by mutual appeal to cadi and consul.

In cases of capital punishment, the military governor awarded it. Witnesses, or confession of the fact, were necessary for conviction: the latter was often extorted by the bastinado on the soles of the feet, inflicted with thongs of hide twisted with metal, and the hand drawn back in giving the blow, by which the flesh was lacerated. For slight offences the *cadi* had the power of ordering the bastinado on the back with the palm-branch: both punishments were generally inflicted at night. Death to the natives was by hanging. The military were either decapitated, or thrown into the sea in a sack.

The third of March, celebrated as the eve of the prophet's birth-day, was a grand festival of the Mahometans. I accompanied Mr. Lee, and the male part of his family, at night, round the bazars, that were illuminated by the common eastern lamp, formed of a small tumbler, partly filled with water, on which a sufficient quantity of oil is poured, and in the centre of which is fixed the lighted wick. The shops, except those selling sherbet, were all cleared of their wares, fitted up with boards, on which were carpets and cushions, level with the windows. They were filled with groupes of Arabs and Turks, in their best dresses. The greatest tranquillity reigned. The variety of costume, the gravity of the company, which was not at all disturbed by our presence amongst them, and the theatrical appearance of

the shops, resembling the boxes in a place of public exhibition, united to render this an interesting spectacle. Sherbet, coffee, and pipes supplied the place of conversation; and the only attempt at mirth or fun was in the person of an Arab buffoon, who ran about from one shop to another, having his head covered by a large mask made of mat, from which three horns projected, two at the sides, and one from the upper part of the skull. He collected money in this way; and taxed our generosity, without returning thanks, only proclaimed aloud the sum given, and then bounded away.

The Arab inhabitants of Alexandria, as well as of other towns I visited in Egypt, are distinguished from the Turks by the turban, which rises perpendicularly with the head of the former, whilst that of the Turk projects over the forehead. The fellahs or labourers were submissive even to Franks, whose superiority they seemed to acknowledge. The few beggars I saw were in great misery: when they received charity they generally kissed the gift, then pressed it to their hearts; a style of thanks more expressive than any reply.

The Mahometan women were generally veiled in white linen or cloth; the face covered, except at the eyes. If unmarried, they wore a red scull cap. The Levantine women wore a black hood, and went equally veiled.

Having remained at Alexandria long enough to complete a panoramic view from the top of the consul's house, I ob-

tained asses to convey myself, servant, and baggage to the cut at Lake Mareotis and Aboukir, and left it early on the morning of the 15th of March. The division between the two lakes is repaired, and an attempt made to prevent the passage of the water into the first mentioned lake: but the measures taken by the Turks were insufficient; the sea still passed through, and forms an expanse of shallow water, which the evaporation by the sun changes into salt, of which great quantities are collected on the banks. The causeway separating the two lakes is defended by a single gun; and a guard under a Booluc Bashee, answering to the rank of sergeant, stationed near it in a wooden building half in ruins; where, as there were no boats ready to take me to Lake Etko, I passed the day and ensuing night.

The canal of Alexandria runs near the cut: and it seemed very possible to render it navigable, by which means a communication with the Nile at Rahmanie might be obtained, which would preclude the necessity of encountering the dangerous Boghaz of Rosetta.

As night approached, the dews began to fall; and the air became cold enough to induce me to accept the invitation of the Booluc Bashee to enter the guard-room, where I was witness to the rude hospitality and amusements of the soldiers. There was evidently more system in their mirth than amongst men of the same class in England; and had I been able to

understand their language, I should doubtless have been more amused than I was.

The apartment into which I was introduced was about twelve feet square, carpetted, and on the sides were suspended the arms of the soldiers. From the ceiling hung a single lamp of the sort before described : it threw a dim light on the faces of seven or eight fierce looking Albanians, each reclining on a cushion, smoking, or playing at a game that seemed to be a favourite ; while one of the party repeated verses in a hoarse recitative, accompanying himself on a three-string guitar. The game, of which I have forgotten the name, consisted of a number of coffee-cups, arranged with their mouths downwards on a small tray in certain parts, expressing numbers, in all amounting to a hundred : under one of these cups a ring was hid ; each of the party in his turn guessed where it was, and the game was won when the number one hundred was completed. The musician seemed to direct the game, addressed his song particularly to the person who was guessing, and honoured his success by a song of praise, after having marked his forehead with the bottom of one of the cups, blackened in the smoke of the lamp. The whole was accompanied with laughter, jests, and uproar. As soon as it was finished, the musician began a recitative of abuse against one of the other soldiers, who seemed prepared to answer, and replied in the same strain, answering each

other in regular dialogue; which recalled to my mind the classic pastoral still copied in Sicily and Calabria in the rude language of the peasantry. Coffee was introduced in the interim, and I was favoured by having the pipe of each of the party presented to me in succession; a compliment I could willingly have dispensed with, as I was obliged to apply my lips to the mouth-piece of the pipe, hot from the gums of the person who offered it me. Other games of gross mirth, bordering on indecency, followed: I thought it time to retire to a ruined apartment which was given up to me, having declined the offer to sleep in the guard-room. I made ample return for the civility shown me, by presenting the party with a bottle of brandy, which was eagerly drunk by all except one, whose countenance, very handsome, bespoke much more mildness than the others, and who had previously surprised me by getting up in the midst of all the mirth and noise that occurred, to perform his devotions in presence of the party; a circumstance which did not occasion any remark. The word "bataal" (blockhead) was applied to him by one of the most dissolute, when he refused to partake of the brandy.

On the 16th I embarked early in the morning for Etko, a village at the eastern extremity of the lake of that name, remarkable at a distance for an apparent neatness: I even thought it had a resemblance to an English village situated on a gentle ascent; but, on a nearer approach, its minarets

and mosques, to the memory of sheiks and santons, drove away the agreeable delusion. The lake had the muddy appearance of a river; all its landing-places were so shallow, that it was necessary to wade to the shore, to which I was carried for thirty yards on the shoulders of an Arab boatman. The banks of the lake were covered with palm-trees, growing in thick plantations from a sandy soil: no verdure appeared, except in front of Etko. We skirted the lake for an hour through groves of palm, till we left it for the desert, where a solitary palm-tree once or twice showed itself amongst hills of sand, and where the charity or devotion of some Arab generally left a pitcher of water for the thirsty and wearied passenger. This slight specimen of the desert gave me a tolerable idea of what the journey must be across larger portions of it. Our road lay through a succession of ascents and descents of loose sand, into which our animals sunk to their knees at each step. We continued thus till we arrived at a plain near Rosetta, where the mirage deceived me, as it has done other travellers, by the resemblance to water; but our journey was rendered less troublesome as the sand was firmer. At half past three we came in sight of Rosetta, and at five got to the grove of palms near the walls, which springs up amidst hills of sand, and was pointed out as the spot where the English detachment under general Wauchop took up its position. I confess I felt no raptures at the sudden

appearance of the Nile, Rosetta, and its neighbourhood ; for, though on entering the town and arriving at the river, the eye is much gratified by the opposite shores of the Delta, and the change from desert to cultivation, yet the traveller will look in vain for the paradise of Denon, Savary, and Sonini.

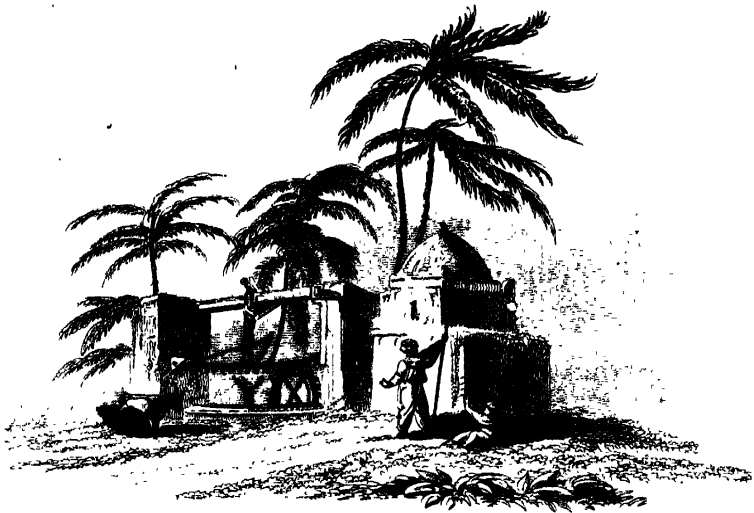
Rosetta still has a few European inhabitants : it is a considerable place ; and being the point of communication between Cairo and Alexandria, had some appearance of trade. Its aga acted as chief of the customs, and prided himself as having commanded at Rosetta during our unfortunate attack on that town.

The desert approached close to the shores of the Nile ; a few gardens, and the continuation of the palm-grove above mentioned, are all that separates it from that river. A village on the opposite shore of the Delta gave me but a miserable idea of the state of the inhabitants. A few straggling houses and a half-clothed population first met my view. The high state of cultivation for which this part of Egypt has been celebrated consisted in ground laid out for rice, with tracts of clover and radish allowed to run to seed amongst plantations of palm-trees. The peasantry seemed too much sunk in apathy to notice me, and rather shunned me as I approached to ask them questions.

The island of Sarshes, opposite Rosetta, has seldom been

mentioned. I crossed to it, and found a fruitful tract of land covered with corn, still green, of about a mile and a half in length: a few peasants had their hovels amongst some palm-trees. It had been employed as a lazaretto before the last plague, and kept it off for some time; but a detachment of Turks, who had been landed there to perform quarantine, grew impatient of their restraint, broke from it, and communicated the plague, which had so lately ravaged the population of Rosetta.

The Pasha had large magazines of corn and rice there, and seemed to be the chief promoter of the commerce of the place, though all the consuls had agents: that for France was a Frenchman, the others were Levantines or Italians. The only English merchant who had lately arrived, was so little pleased with his speculations and with the difficulties he encountered, that I believe he soon after abandoned the place. It was against the interest of the Pasha's agents to allow any person to establish himself in a considerable way.



CHAPTER II.

Departure for Cairo—Mode of conveyance—Scenery of the Nile—Arrival at Boolac—Interview with the Kaya Bey of the Pasha—History of the latter—Attempt at revolution by Latif Pasha—Summary punishment of Turkish soldiers.

I LEFT Rosetta on the 18th, in a boat which I hired to carry me to Cairo; and having obtained a pass from the aga, to prevent the Turks from seizing it for the service of the Pasha (a common practice on the Nile), I sailed in the evening. The first sensations in the progress up the river are certainly very agreeable. An European finds himself in a new region ;

a shore lined with palm-trees, mosques, and the tombs of sheiks, meet the eye at every opening; combined with the creaking of water-wheels, the peculiar manner in which the natives raise water when they have not wheels, to irrigate the land, interest him for a long time; but the sameness will at last tire. It is one unvaried scene from Rosetta to Cairo, which at my departure was heightened by a glowing sun-set. My boat had a covering of mats on some palm-branches, arched over one end of it. I was able to place my bed at the bottom, and lay down during the night, which was passed at anchor near the shore; but the numerous rats that infested me prevented the possibility of sleep. I had not yet accustomed myself to these constant attendants of a traveller on the Nile. The heavy dews which fell surprised me; for although the heavens were clear of fog, yet my clothes were almost wet through. The difference of the heat of the day and cold of the night was very trying, and I found the effects of this change almost immediately on my eyes.

The various villages which I passed were well peopled. Numerous passengers on horses, asses, and camels, skirted the shores of the Nile. Though provisions appeared to me a mere drug, from their great comparative cheapness with those of the countries I had left, yet beggars were every where to be seen, even when the necessities of life were fully supplied for six or seven paras, of which forty make eightpence.

The dreadful malady of blindness was common, and every third or fourth peasant seemed to have a complaint in his eyes. This and the plague are the chief diseases; I heard of nothing else; and there was always resignation to both. The latter, according to the opinion of the common Arabs, with whom I spoke on the subject of precaution against it by quarantine, was a necessary evil, to prevent the population from being more than could be fed.

On the 22d of March, I arrived at Boolac; and went to Colonel Misset's, the British consul-general, to whose kindness I was indebted for every assistance in my further progress up the Nile, and in whose house I remained while in that part of Egypt.

I will not add to the numberless descriptions of Cairo. Each year takes away from its population, and adds to its ruins; nothing is repaired that grows old: but still it is an extraordinary city; where, from the circumstance of its being the point of union from all parts of the south and west, is presented an active and crowded scene.

Whilst Cairo* appears neglected, Boolac, its port, in-

* Henry Blount remained at Boolac, in the house of a Venetian gentleman, for some time; and learned that the number of churches and mosques amounted to thirty-five thousand; the noted streets twenty-four thousand, besides petty turnings and divisions. Some of the streets he found two miles in length, some

creases. New houses are built by merchants, to which they retire for change of air from Cairo; some of them are large, particularly that which Colonel Misset inhabited: it had a garden attached to it; but, considering the excessive cheapness of provisions, the rent was higher in proportion than in Europe.

The town of Boolac, called the port of Cairo, from being situated on the river, is the place where all the boats that trade with Cairo are moored, and is distant from it about a mile and a half; it contains the naval arsenal and dock-yard of the Pasha, the custom-house, and government warehouses.

not a quarter so long. Every one of them is locked up at night with a door at each end, and guarded by a musketeer; whereby fire, robberies, and tumults, with other disorders, are prevented. He travelled in 1634. See Pinkerton's Collection, 10th volume. The extent of Cairo, in his time, is said to be thirty-five or forty miles in circuit*. The Turkish accounts say, that Selim, when he conquered it, was four days before he passed through.

* If Fostac†, Boolac, and Gizeh, are included, it might be near that circuit.

† Elmacin, Book I. Chapter III. says, "Amre, fils d'Alash, General du Caliphe Omar, ayant pris Misraim, y campa; lorsqu'on lui vint à ôter sa tente ou son tabernacle, on y trouva le nid d'un pigeon, avec plusieurs petits pigeonneaux. Amre dit, 'Nous sommes dans le mois de Maharram, il nous est defendu de tuer la moindre chose.' La dessus il ordonna à ses gens de laisser sa tente d'habiter là, et de prendre soin du pigeon. Ils fondèrent donc une ville qu'ils nommèrent Fustant, c'est à dire 'Tente,' 'Tabernacle.' 'Amre l'ayant eu l'an 20 de l'Hegire, le 641 de J. C. la ceignit d'une muraille." Note of Benjamin de Tadelà, chap. 21, p. 225. Baratier's Translation, 1784. Amsterdam.

Amongst the vessels building, whose number surprised me there were several gun-boats of large size.

I had become an inmate in Colonel Misset's house, was introduced to his family; which consisted of himself, Major Vincenzo Taburno, whose name and history has been given by Mr. Hamilton, and is well known to the officers who served in Egypt, who acted as military secretary of the mission; and Mr. Thurburn, private secretary to Colonel Misset, with whom they joined in furthering my views of travel.

The Pasha was not in Egypt: my letters of introduction were presented to the Kaya Bey, or prime minister, who offered me a government boat and guard of soldiers, to ensure the safety of my intended expedition on the Nile; which however I declined, as I preferred travelling in a private manner to the inconvenience of being so constantly surrounded by Turks.

My interview with the Kaya Bey took place in the divan of the citadel, where he sat daily to receive petitions, and administer the affairs of the country. I noticed a suite of apartments, filled with Albanian soldiers, through which I passed to enter the divan, where the Kaya Bey was examining some black slaves who were brought for his inspection: such an employment for a prime minister could not but surprise an Englishman. The grouping of the party present was admirable: the rich and varied dresses, the warlike ap-

pearance of the attendants, their mute attention, the proud superiority of the chief, round whom the subordinate beys seemed to crouch with abject submission, rivetted my attention. I found myself amongst barbarians, who lived only by the breath of the man to whom I was introduced, who in his turn preserves the same sort of abject submission to the will of the Pasha. Fifteen hundred thousand inhabitants of Egypt felt the influence of a single despot; and from the accounts I obtained whilst there, they seemed to be in the same state to which the policy of Joseph reduced the people of Pharaoh.

Previous to my progress up the Nile, it is fit to give some account of the state of this country, which had within a few years undergone several revolutions, and of late a total change of government.

At the time of the arrival of the French under Buona-
parte, the government of Egypt rested in the hands of two Mamelouk chiefs, Ibrahim and Mourad Bey, who, on the death of the treacherous and cruel Mohammed, successor to Ali*, after having made several fruitless attempts to destroy each other, agreed to divide the country between them; and Egypt, though not free from oppression, was at least tranquil.

* See Volney.

The arrival of Buonaparte changed its state; the power of the Mamelouks was fatally reduced, and, in spite of the English arms, having expelled the French army, it was fated they should no longer preserve their dominion in Egypt. The treaty which gave the country to the Turks, in 1800, is well known; and from that time, till the present Pasha usurped the Pashalic, it has been constantly subject to revolutions.

The unsettled state of the distant parts of the Turkish empire presents tempting opportunities to ambitious adventurers. The Ali of Albania is, perhaps, equalled by the Ali of Egypt. The history of the former is well known, and a short one of the latter has been given in Mr. Legh's work. The few particulars which I add relative to Mahommed Ali, the present Pasha of Egypt, may be interesting. They were commonly talked of at Cairo, and I relate what I heard.

When the evacuation of Egypt by the English army, at the time of our first expedition, took place, in the month of August 1801, the Captain Pasha of the Turkish fleet nominated the Pasha left in the country, under whom was placed a creature of the Grand Visir as Tefterdar or treasurer, who was an enemy to the Captain Pasha and his adherents; which naturally produced a misunderstanding, ending in the deposition of the Pasha, who took refuge in the fort of Damietta, where the late lamented Captain Hayes, of the engineers,

assisted in its defence ; and from that circumstance excited the resentment of the prevailing party, by which he was afterwards supposed to have been poisoned. On the surrender of the fort, the Pasha either escaped, or was sent off to Constantinople ; the troops elected another, who, after a reign of twenty-two days, was assassinated, and another chosen, who retained his authority for some time, made head against the increasing power of the Mamelouks, and drove them into Upper Egypt, where they had Girgeh for their limit. Previous to this, Mahommed Ali had contrived to conceal his ambitious views, and had been continued in the command of his troops, neither exciting the suspicion nor losing the confidence of the leaders. He derived his origin from Thrace, became a soldier in the army of the Grand Signor ; and, from his good conduct, was raised to the rank of Bem Bashee, answering to that of colonel with Europeans. He and his followers formed part of the army of the Grand Visir in Egypt, in aid of ours against the French ; after whose expulsion he remained under the first Pasha. Without possessing the slightest rudiments of education, Mahommed Ali had great natural talents. He was a politician of the school of Machiavel, complete master of dissimulation, in common with most of the Turks, whose gravity and self-command, when any end is to be gained, seem to increase with their rank : cool and designing, he found himself in a

country presenting a fair field for his ambition, which he determined to push to its utmost. The first Pasha was expelled by a second, who, as I said before, was assassinated, and a third chosen. Mahommed had not yet shown himself: he had followed the stream, and willingly submitted to his new masters. The last Pasha made him commander of the troops, intrusted him with the expedition against the Mamelouks, and thus paved the way for his advancement; for, in his situation as general, he gained the love of the army, by moderation and attention to the wants of the soldiers; he was feared by them, for resolute conduct in cases of disobedience. The subordinate chiefs knew that the reigning Pasha had no one to support his authority but Mahommed Ali, and that the former had not shown any great talents to merit their confidence. In this state of affairs, Mahommed Ali was sent against the Mamelouks. The time had arrived for him to accomplish his designs; he explained them to his friends, who gave him encouragement; the Mamelouks were checked; he returned then towards Cairo, having first assumed the title of Pasha. He was met on his way by a body of troops belonging to his former master, sent to oppose him on the first news of his revolt, who soon ranged themselves under his standard: thus strengthened, he hastened to Cairo, where the reigning Pasha, after a short resistance in the citadel, surrendered; and was allowed to quit

Egypt, with his treasure and family—a trait of humanity rarely to be met with amongst Turks. The first step of Mahommed Ali was to free himself from all those chiefs who might hereafter become his rivals, permitting them to quit the country with their wealth unmolested. His threats or persuasions soon left him without a competitor, and surrounded only by his immediate dependants and relations. His next step was to form an alliance with the Mamelouks, to whom he entirely abandoned the upper part of Egypt, as far as Girgeh.

Alexandria was not a part of the Pashalic, being governed by a chief sent from Constantinople. It was an essential object to the Pasha's commercial designs to obtain it. The arrival of the English under General Fraser, and the subsequent treaty, gave it to him. His attention was now divided between war and commerce. The war in Spain and Portugal brought him an immense revenue from the exportation of corn, and enabled him to carry on a war against the Wahabbees. The trade in corn through Alexandria remained entirely in the hands of the Pasha's agents; who finding such considerable profits from it, imagined that all other trade might be monopolised by their master, who would thus command the purses of foreigners. Our successes in Spain having lessened the demand for corn, his monopoly had effect contrary to his hopes; and there was a general

stagnation of trade, which has since begun to circulate, from other measures being pursued. Though the correspondence of the Mamelouks with our commanders was not unknown to the Pasha, yet as the time was not favourable for showing his resentment, he waited for an opportunity to crush them, and to establish himself securely in his government by their destruction.

The Wahabbees, a new enemy, had sprung up to alarm him. They had shown themselves as a sect of puritan Mahometans at Daria, in the interior of Arabia Petrea, in 1775; where they established a considerable power, began to spread their arms and tenets from the Red Sea to the Euphrates, and were now menacing Egypt, after having seized on Mecca, Medina, and Yemèn. It was the interest of the Mamelouks to join in resisting these formidable enemies: they were invited from Girgeh, in Upper Egypt, to Gizeh, nearly opposite Cairo, and a new treaty made, by which they were to send a body of fifteen hundred cavalry to Cairo, to march with the Pasha's army, to recover the holy cities above mentioned, to repel the Wahabbees, and ensure the safety of Egypt. Nine hundred Mamelouks marched into the citadel, six hundred remained at Gizeh, the remainder began their march to Upper Egypt. Their forces thus divided, they presented an easy conquest. Orders were given for the indiscriminate massacre of every Mamelouk: the

whole fifteen hundred were destroyed in one morning, and the army that had been assembled under the pretence of marching against the Wahabbees, were immediately sent in pursuit of the Mamelouks, who were followed beyond Ibrim in Nubia, and their numbers reduced to about eleven hundred ; who, under Ibrahim Bey, retired to Dongola, where they conquered a territory from the petty chiefs of the country on the west bank of the Nile*. The Pasha judged it expedient to leave them there unmolested, satisfied with his success ; though, according to the opinion of some of his friends, impolitic in not totally exterminating them before he turned his thoughts to any new war.

The whole of Egypt being thus under one master, it was divided into a certain number of provinces and districts. Upper Egypt was put under the eldest son of the Pasha, who first had the title of Bey, and afterwards of Pasha of two tails ; Gizeh, Alexandria, and Faioum, under beys ; Rosetta, Damietta, Damanhour, under agas ; the districts under cashiefs ; and villages under caimacams.

The war against the Wahabbees was carried on by the Pasha with all the activity of an European general : he drove

* Volney gives a short but interesting account of the formation of this body, under the successors of Selah Eddin, p. 96, vol. i. English translation.

them from their conquests on the Red Sea, retook Medina, Mecca, and Yemen; and for this service was finally acknowledged by the Grand Signor, to whom he sent the keys of the captured cities; the possession of which by an enemy, according to the Mahometan faith, absolved the followers of the Prophet from their allegiance to the Grand Signor, as head of their religion. Though this sovereign expressed outwardly such a sense of the importance of the service done by the Pasha, as to swear by the Prophet that he would continue his sons in the Pashalic of Egypt for three generations; yet it is supposed he secretly encouraged an attempt to create a revolution at Cairo, by the help of the person who was commissioned by the Pasha to lay the keys of the cities he had conquered at the feet of the Grand Signor. This man, the spurious offspring of a Turk and an African, was named Latif, and was a favourite slave of Mahommed Ali: like many other Mahometans, he had faith in astrology, and had been made to believe that he should become Pasha of two tails, which title was actually conferred on him at Constantinople. When preparing for his return from thence, he was reminded of the vulgar tradition, which doomed the country to the power of a slave; and was encouraged in his views by the Porte. On his arrival at Cairo, in consequence of some defeat the Pasha had met with from the Wahabbees, he promoted a rumour of his death, and listened to the

declaration of a professed soothsayer, who induced him to pretend that he was called by fate to the government of Egypt. Having seduced a few followers, with promises of pay and rations, he assumed the title of Pásha of Egypt: but his designs had been discovered, and measures taken by the Kaya Bey to crush them as soon as put in execution. After a short resistance, he was taken in his harem and strangled: the poor soothsayer was rewarded by being tied up in a sack and thrown into the Nile. No other execution took place; every thing remained quiet, and proved the firmness with which the government was established, this being the first and only attempt made by any dependant towards a revolution.

The war of the Wahabbees, though begun with such brilliant success, did not continue favourable to the arms of the Pasha: new hordes advanced against him; every victory diminished his army, which was recruited with great difficulty. The inhabitants of the desert, inured to long and speedy marches, capable of supporting every fatigue in their burning sands, satisfied with the coarsest and scantiest food, were formidable enemies to the Turkish soldiers; who, accustomed to the plenty of Cairo, required constant supplies of necessaries from Egypt, which the shores of the Red Sea could by no means afford them. The convoys were often cut off by the activity of the Wahabbees, who, ever on the

alert, came down in large bodies, when the smallness of the Turkish force ensured success.

The Porte, disappointed in its hopes of shaking the Pasha's power by revolution, tried to prevent his obtaining recruits from Europe and Asia Minor, and for a long time prohibited any from leaving those countries; in consequence of which, Arabs, Copts, and even negroes were enrolled, to enable him to sustain himself in his possessions on the Red Sea. Money, too, began to fall short: our successes in Spain prevented so great a demand for corn, supposed at one time an inexhaustible source of wealth. New modes of obtaining money were adopted; all the land of Egypt was at once considered the property of the divan. It was portioned off to the different villages, overseers stationed to be answerable for its cultivation, the produce divided into a certain number of parts, of which one fifth remained to the community, and the rest was at the disposal of the Pasha: the same demands were made in bad as in good seasons. A temporary relief was thus given to the government, which was supposed would end in its final ruin. The specie that entered the country was seized as the property of government, which in return paid the nominal value in Egyptian piastres, that diminished in value, during my residence of six months in Egypt, in the proportion of one in seven: having received, on my arrival, only seven and a quarter; and, on my depar-

ture, eight and a half, for the Spanish dollar. The dollars thus exchanged were coined into base money of ten or twelve piastres, which gave an immediate command of currency to an immense amount.

The subsequent success of the Pasha had only enabled him to keep the shores of the Red Sea free from the Wahabees, against whom he had in vain attempted to wage an offensive war. He was obliged to remain with his troops in Arabia; and had absented himself so long from Cairo, that, at the time of my preparing to leave the country, his friends almost despaired of his return: this, however, has since taken place.

Though the Pasha monopolised trade, yet he protected traders: Christians were no longer at the mercy of Mussulmen, nor could the Turkish soldier insult the "Giaour" with impunity. His summary mode of punishment, on an occasion I shall relate, had at once put a stop to the inclination of the Turkish soldier to tyrannise over the Franks.

Two merchants were riding on mules towards Fostak (Old Cairo) when they were met by a couple of armed Albanians, on their way to a large barrack between Fostak and Cairo: they stopped the Franks, obliged them to dismount, and proceeded, without any ceremony, mounted on their mules. Unfortunately for the soldiers, the Pasha overtook the merchants, who were returning home in the heat of the day on

foot; and knowing them to be men who never walked, asked the reason why they were on foot; and being told what had happened, rode off immediately to the barracks, where he found out the offenders; and, without any ceremony, had their heads instantly struck off. The effect of this was, that the Franks were never after molested.



CHAPTER III.

Voyage up the Nile to Assuan—Arab superstitions—Cultivation of sugar, and process of extracting the juice—Arrival at Siout, character of Kaya Bey, of Ibrahim Pasha—Commerce in slaves—Gefabs of Sennaar—Coptish accountants—Manner of making chaff—Crocodiles—Girgeh—Thebes—Ombos—Elephantina, scenery of—Assuan.

It was now the beginning of April; my information encouraged me to expect no great difficulties in my travels from the state of the country. I had obtained sufficient knowledge of the vulgar Arabic, to begin my course up the Nile without an interpreter; and accordingly, with the assistance of

Major Taburno, I procured a boat of about twelve or fourteen tons, belonging to a respectable Arab Rais, large enough to admit of my having a temporary cabin constructed on its half-deck, composed of palm-branches covered with a double set of mats, under which I had room for a wicker sofa for my bed, a small camp table and chair, my baggage, a provision of biscuit, and a Keenah jar, to filter the Nile water*. I wore the European dress, and sometimes my uniform. My servant's bed was laid at the foot of mine, and separated by a mat; our arms suspended over our heads. On the 4th of April, I left Boolac, provided with a strong firman from the Kaya Bey, which contained an order to the Turkish chiefs to treat me as one of the family of the Pasha; and a bill of exchange on the treasury of Siout, for a supply of money.

* Henry Blount, talking of the water of the Nile, says, the water tastes just like new milk, but somewhat nitrous; and if drank as from the river, troubled, it causes to strangers a flux. They take a gallon or more of that water; and if they have not time to let it settle, they cast therein three or four bruised almonds, which, in less than an hour, clarifies it like crystal; which effect they have upon no other water, and therein is shown the perfection of that. P. 244, Pinkerton's Collection, 10th vol.

The Keenah jar, being unglazed outside, acts as a filtering stone. I have tried the effects of bruised almonds on the Nile water, even at sea; and the water very soon became quite clear. I cannot answer for the latter part of the assertion of H. Blount, not having tried.

My crew consisted of the Rais, five men, and a boy, the youngest son of the Rais. We proceeded up the river, when the wind served, by sailing; when it failed, the crew towed; when it was contrary, we moored. The river was at its lowest, the season of the year the hottest; and I was exposed to the Kamseen winds, which at times blew with a heat of 108 Farenheit in the shade, and even close to the river seemed to affect all animal life *.

I had often occasion to notice the activity of the boatmen in lifting the boat from the shallows of the river, by which the course was constantly impeded; and was surprised that men, who at other times were all apathy and indolence, seemed to think nothing of exerting their bodily strength in a manner that few Europeans would be inclined to attempt.

The scenery of the Nile is too regularly uniform to please for a continuation; but my first outset from Boolac left agreeable impressions on my mind. The banks of the Nile, as far as Gizeh, were covered with houses and trees: different islands intercepted the stream! Rauda seemed a large garden: the ruins of the Nilometer appeared close to a picturesque harem of the Pasha: the pyramids of Gizeh and

* Volney gives a lively and faithful description of the effect of these winds, in his *Travels*, p. 56, 3d edit. English translation, 8vo.

- Sacarra successively showed themselves on the rising ground of the west; whilst on the east, the range of the Mokattam, on that side of the Nile, rose high behind Cairo, whose lofty light-coloured minarets were relieved by large precipitous masses of the sandy rock of the mountain, in which numerous holes evinced the existence of ancient tombs.

My progress up the Nile continued slowly; it was the 7th of May before I arrived at Assuan, although I rarely stopped except from necessity, restraining my inclination to visit the antiquities of this part till my return. In the course of this time, I had some trials of temper, a few privations and inconveniences: but I was rarely insulted; nor was I often persecuted by the curiosity of the natives, who rather treated me with respect. The Rais was a respectable Hadjee, whose youngest and eldest sons were on board with him: the former, a boy of seven or eight years old, was treated with patriarchal fondness, and shared all the good his father possessed, in exclusion of the elder.

In some villages I was able to assist the sick by medicines and advice; in others, I added to the catalogue of charms*, by writing Arabic sentences in praise of God and the Pro-

* See Mungo Park's Travels in Africa; where he in some places subsisted by writing them: the African called them *Saphies*.

phet, at the request of the villagers : these, placed in the turban, or hung round the neck, were to preserve the wearer from the evil angel. In one village, called Abou Gaziz, I was requested by a party of women to hold my drawn sword on the ground, whilst they went through the ceremony of jumping across it, with various ridiculous motions, to correct the well known Eastern curse of barrenness* ; and was rewarded by blessings and offerings of Durra cake. At Gibbel Atteer, where the Mokattam closes on the Nile, and gives a high range of rocks to confine its course on the west bank, I was surprised by the descent of one of the Copts inhabiting a monastery on the summit, by a rope, into the Nile : he swam after the boat, demanded charity, retired, and was drawn up again in a bucket. A little higher up the Nile than this, and in the district of Minict, the sugar-cane is chiefly cultivated : it appeared the season for reaping and planting it ; both of which, as well as the process of expressing the juice, I saw on the same day, the 12th of April. The canes were cut in my presence, part used for the juice and part for planting : the latter was performed by digging fur-

* The learned reader may recall to his mind some of the ceremonies practised by the ancients to this effect. See St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, where he rebukes them.

rows five or six inches deep, in which were placed horizontally portions of the sugar-cane, consisting of six or seven joints; they were then covered with earth, and constantly watered by the water of the Nile, communicated by means of channels, into which it was raised by wheels or by buckets; and in a short time each joint sends forth a shoot, which becomes a sugar-cane, and during the inundation of the Nile remains covered with water.

I found, from one of the overseers, that the same ground cannot be planted every year. Each *feddan** of earth thus planted ought to produce five cantars† of sugar.

The method of expressing the juice is very simple. The mill is composed of two rollers, serving as axle-trees to two vertical wheels moved by a horizontal one on the top, supported by two upright posts, having a transverse one, on the centre of which the horizontal wheel moves: this is set in motion by one or more buffaloes, yoked at the end of a long lever connected with the centre of the horizontal wheel. Under the rollers is a reservoir to receive the juice: a man sits between the two upright posts, within reach of a load of sugar-canes, which he places by seven or eight at a time between the rollers. The juice thus expressed is a sweet yellowish water; which being boiled, the sugar is extracted in

About an acre and a half.

† Nearly one hundred weight.

the shape of molasses. This is again refined coarsely, and made into small loaves of about three pounds weight, of a sparkling open grain, very sweet, inclined to the colour of Lisbon sugar.

In the village of Abadie, the inhabitants of which are all Copts, and where no Mahometan dare reside, from superstitious reverence to tradition, which foretells the death of the Mahometan who shall attempt to do so; the villagers were unwilling to believe I was a Christian, from hearing me profess it was not a part of my creed to hate the Mahometans. This principle of hatred seems the only one the priests could instil into the minds of these Christians; who, from all accounts, are a worse race than any of their Mussulmen neighbours.

In this part of Egypt tobacco was chiefly cultivated, though common all over Upper Egypt; and grew to the height of four or five feet. I observed many of the peasantry pluck the leaves from the standing plant, dry them in the sun, and then use them in their pipes instead of the tobacco regularly cured.

I was obliged to remain at Siout two days (the 19th and 20th of April) to obtain additional firmans for passing into Nubia, and to procure money sufficient for the journey. I had brought a letter of introduction to Signor Scotto, a Genoese, who filled the station of physician to Ibrahim Pasha, the eldest son of Mahommed Ali, who ruled in Upper

• Egypt. This Pasha was absent on an expedition against the Arabs of the Western Desert ; but his Kaya Bey acceded to my wishes for further letters of protection, to proceed beyond the cataracts. He may be considered as having European ideas with respect to women : he had no pleasure in the society of such as the customs of the East obliged him to immure in a harem ; and was the first, perhaps, who had honesty enough to confess, that the love of a woman preserved by bolts and bars from temptation was hardly worth having. He ruled with absolute sway during the absence of Ibrahim. His chief employment seemed to be to enrich his master at the expense of the Egyptians. I met at his divan Arabs from Cairo, who gave me the sign of freemasonry.

The town of Siout, now made the capital of Upper Egypt, instead of Girgeh, is about a mile from the river-side on the west bank ; the Mokattam forms an amphitheatre of hills behind it, that render it picturesque. It was fortified, in the time of the Mamelouks, by low walls, flanked with round towers of unbaked brick, with a ditch in front of the whole ; gardens and palm-trees appear mixed with the buildings of the town. The ancient excavations, described by Denon and others, are all that remain of the city of Lycopolis. Underneath them, at the foot of the Mokattam, runs a range of modern Mahometan tombs for nearly a mile, in a grove of sount, or Egyptian thorn, bearing a tufted yellow flower. In

this grove, the mixture of the cupolas, Saracenic walls, and turrets of the tombs, either simply whitewashed or rudely coloured, with the thick foliage of the trees, presents a singular and interesting scene, and attracted my attention more than any thing modern I had seen in Egypt.

Siout is the intermediate mart between Sennaar, Darfour, and Cairo: caravans of Gelabs, or slave merchants, are constantly arriving. The fate of one that had just escaped, with its remnants, from the desert, after having lost four thousand animals, including men, women, children, horses, camels, &c., from having mistaken the tract, had excited a momentary interest about the time of my arrival at Siout: yet, with all this loss, I was offered a young well formed negress, about seventeen years old, for the trifling sum of rather more than fifteen pounds sterling. The way in which slaves of both sexes are exposed must shock the feelings of an European unused to such scenes. The Gelab, like a horse-dealer, examined, pointed out, and made me remark what he called the good points of the girl in question. The poor wretch, thus exposed, pouted and cried during the ceremony; was checked, encouraged, and abused, according to her behaviour. The Gelabs of Sennaar who attended were mild looking men; tall and slender; their dress, a long woollen shirt; fastened at the shoulder, in the manner of a Roman toga; their hair hung very thick, in matted plaits, to the poll of the neck, like



the head-dress of the ancient Egyptian deities, and which I afterwards found to be that of the women in Nubia. Upon my inquiring of them whether they were of the true faith of Mahomet, their countenances brightened up into a look of great cheerfulness, and they answered, "Yes, praised be God!"

At Siout remarks were made to me of the character of the Turks high in rank, which was said to apply to most of that nation who attain power. A Turk never loves, never has friendship; he is swayed by interest alone; will befriend, will love, as long as it is convenient. A mistress pleases him; yet, rather than she should be assisted in difficult labour of child-birth, he will allow her to die: and long cohabitation with a woman has been repayed by an attempt to poison her, because a lingering illness brought trouble and expense to her master or husband.

The Copts still appear to be the chief accountants in Egypt, according to their former custom under the Mamelouks. They have been restrained from their system of speculation by the most terrible punishments, even to roasting alive. I saw upwards of one hundred, in the service of Ibrahim Pasha, employed in one room, which they never quitted during the day, their meals being brought to them. Their accounts were superintended by a Turkish Tefterdar, whose threat of instant death on a trembling Copt, for some mistake or neglect of accounts, I heard myself.

Amongst other commerce, that of eunuchs for the seraglio at Constantinople, took place through Siout. I saw two boats, containing one hundred and fifty black boys, on their way to Cairo, who had been totally emasculated, and cured in a month, at a village in the neighbourhood. They had been attended by a Franciscan monk, one of the propagandi of the Hospitium of Akmim, who practised medicine for a livelihood: he described the operation, though painful and cruel, as easily performed, and without much danger; eleven only having died out of one hundred and sixty. The simple application of fresh butter assisted nature in her cure. The corn harvest had already begun in this part of Egypt: it was plucked up by the roots, as no sickle was used. The maize, or durra, was still standing: tobacco was in flower. The process of cutting chaff I shall describe, as I observed it opposite Akmin. A frame of four feet wide, and as many high, consisting of three sides, was placed on wooden rollers, serving as axles to a number of thin circular iron plates, put in motion by a couple of oxen driven by a boy, who sat on a cross bar above the rollers, and moved over the straw as it lay in heaps on the ground, after the grain had been trodden out. In a short time, the straw was cut into small portions, which served to feed the cattle of the natives.

In the neighbourhood of Akmim, I counted upwards of

thirty villages in the plain on both sides of the river; and a little before Girgeh first saw crocodiles: one had just floated dead on the shore, and was left there. I measured, and found him twenty spans (about sixteen feet) in length, from the point of the tail to the extremity of the nose; but larger were often seen. My servant was in the habit of firing at them: he often hit them without any other effect than causing them to make a sudden plunge into the water. They seemed to fly the approach of noise, were constantly seen at particular reaches of the river, sometimes a dozen at a time, basking on the sand banks; sometimes, but rarely, showing their belly. I at first took them for logs of wood. The natives call them *Timsah**, told many stories of their depredations on the inhabitants; but, from what I observed, they were more afraid of the human race, than inclined to attack it. I never could bring home any credible account of their having been seen to attack a man, though many pretended to have known of such an event at second hand.

The only time I ever saw a crocodile rise again, after having plunged into the water, was in the instance where a dog had come to the river side to drink. It did not seem to fly

* See Herodotus, called by him *Champsæ*: See Beloe's translation, vol. i. p. 400. *Euterpe*.

the crocodile, but rather watched its motions, barking at the same time. My servant fired at the crocodile, which immediately plunged into the water, and swam down the stream; the dog continued to track it, saw it rise again a few hundred yards below, and again took a station to bark at it: on its second rising, it crouched like a rat, curving its back, and stiffening its tail behind; then opened a mouth of a tremendous size, exposed fangs of a frightful length, and jaws of a blood-like red colour. A second shot, from my servant, made it plunge to rise no more.

The Nile at Girgeh becomes excessively confined by the cast mountains of the Mokattam, and winds so as to bring them into the rear of the town; producing a grand scene of water, buildings, and precipitous masses of rock.

Above Girgeh is the province of Fairshoot, where the greatest quantity of sugar is made; and, in the hands of Europeans, would supply all the shores of the Mediterranean: even limited as the produce now is, the Levant chiefly derives its sugar from it. In no part of the East, which I visited, was colonial sugar to be found; that for the use of the seraglio at Constantinople comes from Fairshoot, and is refined with extraordinary care.

I was now approaching the Thebaid, where I contented myself with one short visit to the temple at Luxor, on the east banks of the Nile, which at first disappointed me; its vast

dimensions being hid amongst the numerous modern huts erected within its extent, and the height lost in the accumulation of rubbish. It was not till I began to compare its columns with the human figure, that I was sensible of their magnitude.

On ascending the Nile still further, its valley becomes gradually more narrow. Turkish garrisons were not stationed higher than Esneh, above which the villages are under the government of their sheiks. At Edfoo, lances and shields, the arms of savages, were used in common with fire-arms. At Hadjar Silsilis, the Nile seems to have forced its way through a mass of rock, which is bold though not lofty. The entrance to the vast quarries of that part of the Mokattam, and which appear to have furnished materials for all the temples of Egypt, are plainly distinguishable on both sides of the river. On the west side, the rude excavations, in the form of porticos, and supposed to have been the places of worship of the men employed in the quarries, are seen close to the water. One part of the passage has been often noticed by preceding travellers for its contracted breadth, and is said to have been traversed in ancient times by a chain which stopped the navigation of the river. It has even been affirmed, that the French discovered an iron bolt on the west side; my boatmen affected to show the place whence it was taken: and, in confirmation of the idea of the navigation

having been stopped by a chain, we have the present Arabic name, "Hadjar Silsilis, The rock of the chain." One of the rocks has been cut into a rude cubic mass, on the summit of which lies another horizontally, of a triangular shape, and at a distance appears like the head of a bird.

The mass of buildings which formed part of the ancient Apollinopolis Magna, rises high above the modern habitations of Edfoo. The hieroglyphics on its propylæa are plainly distinguished with a glass from the Nile, though distant a mile and a half. Here the river begins to divide itself amongst several islands, some of which are inhabited; but the Mokattam approaches close to the east and west banks, which appear to have few habitations, and are badly cultivated. I looked in vain for the building mentioned by Denon, as the Pharos to the ancient Ombos.

The ruins of this city are close to the east bank, on a sort of promontory, and the desert threatens to cover them completely. There are none but these which enable the traveller, by merely passing, to form a tolerable idea of the sort of ruin he will see; and rarely, except here, are Roman ruins still to be traced from the shore. From Ombos to Assuan, the eastern side of the Nile has most cultivation, in a narrow space of ground between the Mokattam and the banks of the river. The western shores are almost deserted. The houses of the villages are more pyramidal than elsewhere, and, si-



Engraved by C. Hoag

VIEW FROM THE WEST SIDE OF ELEPHANTINA, LOOKING DOWN THE NILE.

THE NILE, IN THE DISTANCE.

tuated amongst groves of palm-trees, are excessively picturesque.

On the 7th of May, I began to look for the beauties of Elephantina, and soon was gratified, when we sailed amongst the masses of deep blue granite, which, in this low season of the year, rose high above the water: this had now lost its rapidity. I was presented with a scene composed of water, rocks, and buildings, which latter had the additional effect of being formed of cupolas, minarets, mosques, and ruins, interspersed amongst plantations of lofty palm-trees, and surrounded by mountains of deep red or sandy hue, on the tops and sides of which were other ruins of convents, churches, and mosques. We passed along the west side of Elephantina, where the passage is dangerous from the rocks; we were obliged to take in a pilot, who conducted the boat safely by the south end, giving me an opportunity of observing the different scenes that excite the admiration of all travellers. Some of the ruins of Elephantina are evidently Roman; and of the Egyptian remains, there are parts which seem to have belonged to buildings not dedicated to the deities of Egypt; particularly a strong wall of masonry on the south side, which I should consider as having been intended for defence. Many of the granite rocks, at the south end, are covered with hieroglyphics; and two are cut into rude gigantic figures.

The long residence of the French had, in some degree,

civilised the inhabitants of Assuan. Those of Elephantina appeared a distinct race, intermixed with Berbers or Barabras, commonly called Gooblis, natives of Nubia, who seemed to flock here either for a livelihood or for refuge. Mr. Denon, whom I had the pleasure of seeing in Paris, spoke with satisfaction of his reception in that island; and I was surprised to find so much kindness from people who were literally in a constant state of warfare or defence, subject at all times to the predatory excursions of their neighbours living near the cataracts of Assuan. The island itself, called "Ghezirat-el-Sag, the flowery island," is quite a paradise, and merits all the lavish praise bestowed on it. It must be confessed that we find beauty by comparison; and this must excuse all travellers in their particular praise of spots, which elsewhere would not, perhaps, call forth their eulogy. Though the season of the year was approaching to the greatest heat, shade was every where to be found amongst the thick plantations of palm-trees, which surrounded and traversed the island. Amongst these the modern habitations showed themselves, whilst the eye often rested on the ancient temples still existing. Every spot was cultivated, and every person employed; none asked for money; and I walked about, greeted by all I met with courteous and friendly salams.

The intercourse I had with the natives of Assuan was of a very different nature; and in spite of French civilisation and

French progeny, which the countenances and complexion of many of the younger part of the inhabitants betrayed, I never received marks of attention without a demand on my generosity.



CHAPTER IV.

Departure for Philæ—Locusts—Sail for Ibrim—Ruins at Gârtaas—Taeefa—Cataracts of Galabshee—Ruins at ditto—Temple at Garsery—Arrival at Dukkey—Description of temple there—Hailed by an officer of the Cashief of Deir—Interview with the latter—Arrival at Deir—Excavations—Narrow escape of the writer—Ibrim—Superstition of natives.

As Pococke and Denon did not proceed beyond Philæ, and Norden, who ascended as far as Deir, appears rarely to have landed, and does not give any account of the antiquities of Nubia ; and though Mr. Legh's work contains much valuable information ; yet, as the objects described in it are new, I

may be excused for entering again on the subject. I shall therefore relate what I saw in my progress up the Nile above Philæ.

I had to regret that Mr. Hamilton and his companions were not able to prosecute their researches here. Fortunately I received some information which was of use to me from Mr. Buckingham, an English gentleman, who went as far as Dukkey a short time before me.

Having gratified my curiosity at Assuan and Elephantina, I prepared for my voyage; and, as the navigation was stopped by the rocks by which the river is here filled, and the channel so divided and reduced, in the ordinary state of the stream, as not to leave sufficient breadth or depth for boats; I therefore quitted mine, to proceed by land to the shore opposite Philæ, and procured asses for my journey.

On the 10th of May, I left Assuan, attended by my English servant and an Arab from my boat, having two asses for riding and three for baggage, accompanied by the sheik of Assuan's son, named Osman, as guide and guard; and proceeded through the ruins of the Arab town on the heights above Assuan. The desert here on every side is broken by large masses of granite, most of which had hieroglyphical tablets sculptured on them. We arrived in about two hours at the shore opposite Philæ.

Philæ, called by the natives Selwajoud, by Norden el

Heiff, merits all that has been said in praise of its temples and other structures.

I remained here till the evening of the 11th. It was in the morning of that day that I first saw the ravages caused by locusts, of which an immense swarm obscured the sky*. In a few hours after their arrival, the palm-trees were stripped of their foliage, and the ground of its herbage; men, women, and children employed themselves in vain attempts to prevent the locusts from settling; howling repeatedly the name of Geraad, the Arab and Nubian word for locusts, throwing sand in the air, beating the ground with sticks, and at night lighting fires: yet they seemed to bear the loss of their harvest without murmur, blessing God that they had not the plague, which they said always raged at Cairo when the locusts showed themselves, as it actually did at that time.

I hired a boat from the natives of the east shore, opposite Philæ; which, though of smaller size, than the one I left

* "They darkened the sun," says the prophet Joel, chap. ii. v. 10, speaking of the flight of the locusts. The word is written Girad *Grillus migratorius*. L. In many parts of Turkey, the locust bird, *Turdus Roseus*, providentially appears at the same time with the locusts, and destroys great numbers. In some seasons, when the grain of the corn is too far advanced, these insects attack the cotton plants, mulberry and fig-leaves. Russel, ii. 230.—See Walpole's Mem.—See also Volney's account of the locusts, p. 383, vol. i. English translation; Mungo Park; and Barrow's Southern Africa.

at Assuan, was large enough to enable me to lay my bed cross-ways at the stern: four men composed the crew: a mat, arched on some palm-branches, served for a screen against the sun.

Early in the morning of the 12th we sailed up the river; and, in consequence of the wind failing, moored at Ser Ali, on the east bank, where rocks, barren hills, and crocodiles were the only objects of remark. About half-way between Ser Ali and Philæ, on the west bank, are the remains of a temple, in a village called Deboo, and, by Norden, Deboodê. On the cultivated spots, in the neighbourhood, were many sheep and cows, with plantations of palm-trees.

I was detained the 13th at Ser Ali by Kamseen winds, which set in with an obscure sky, the sun becoming pale, as seen through a discoloured glass; but, on the 14th, arrived at Gartaas, called by Norden Hindau, on the west bank; where I landed, to examine the architectural ruins, of which there are many at intervals for the space of nearly two miles. The first and most southern is a square enclosure of masonry, of one hundred and fifty-three paces each side; its greatest height sixteen feet, though in many places much less; its thickness about ten feet. The east side is almost destroyed. In the interior are smaller enclosures of stone, and foundations for others. In the south and north sides there are gateways: that in the north is nearly in the centre, higher than

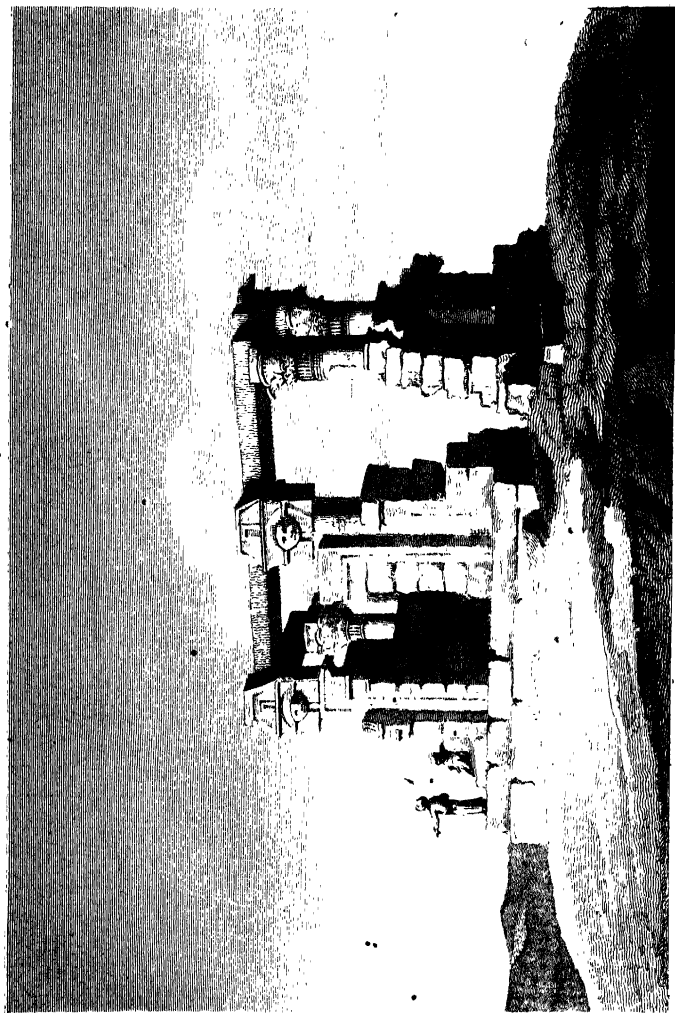
the wall ; is strong, and has a cornice, in which is a winged globe, and the outline of a symbolic figure, cut in one of the stones. Outside this gateway, attached to it on the right hand side, is a small square building, which in modern days would be taken for a guard-room. The exterior base of the gate does not touch the ground.

Beyond this, going northward amongst some quarries of sandy free-stone, is a narrow passage, open at the top, cut by art ; on each side of which, at intervals, are hieroglyphics coarsely sculptured, and the outline of a monolithic temple. This passage leads to a part of the rock scarped perpendicularly, in which is a shallow recess, shaped like a monolithic temple, of about ten feet high, with cornice and winged globe ; on the upper part of each side, of which are half-length figures of men in full relief, under rudely arched recesses. The heads are defaced, they have drapery about the shoulders and arms, and appear to have the wand and whip of the Egyptians in their hands ; the former being a symbol of power, the latter the flagellum given to Osiris, and sometimes to the genii Avernunci. They are about three feet high, and are cut out of the rock.

Above and below these figures and recess are numerous Greek inscriptions cut in tablets, and at the bottom of the whole are rudely sculptured hieroglyphics.

Of the inscriptions, of which there cannot be less than a





Deron, 1. - Hight

Exonord der C. West

hundred, I copied five; two were immediately under the figures, the other three are amongst the easiest to be made out*.

At a short distance north are the remains of a small temple†, consisting of six beautifully finished columns with capitals. Two of them, facing the north, are engaged in a wall two-thirds of their height, forming a gateway. Their capitals are heads of Isis, supporting a plinth, on which monolithic temples are sculptured. The other four, two on the west and two on the east, are also engaged in a wall, half their height. The capitals vary, but are of the lotus form: the opposites of each end are alike. Those to the south angles of the east and west sides have the grape and wheat-ear in relief under their volutes. In the west side there is a small doorway. The walls, in which the columns are engaged, have a cornice. The columns stand on circular bases, and the foundation of the whole is partly seen. The architraves, entablature, die, and part of the cornice, remain. The shafts are about three feet in diameter, and the distance between them about ten feet. The north front is thirty feet, the east and west thirty-six. At the base, two or three symbolic

* See Greek inscriptions at the end.

† In the description of this temple, p. 405, in Walpole's *Memoirs of European and Asiatic Turkey*, my manuscript was misunderstood.

figures have been rudely cut in the west face; and on a column of the north front are characters much defaced of a Greek inscription*. On the other column are characters, none of which I could trace.

About three quarters of a mile further to the north, stands a single column without capital, of small dimensions, fluted about one-third below the die that surmounts it. It has the appearance of having been engaged in a wall, and is surrounded by fragments of shafts, and other parts of a building, whose form I could not make out. The west bank of the river, in the neighbourhood of Gartaas, is almost desert. A few huts, scattered amongst the ruins, afford shelter to the miserable inhabitants. The opposite shore has some degree of cultivation, and the mountains are a little distant from the banks of the river.

From Gartaas we sailed for Taeefa, called by Norden Teffa, where, on the 15th, we arrived. It is on the west bank, above which the sides of the river become bold and craggy. Near this place is the entrance to the *shellaal*, or cataracts of Galabshee, where Mr. Buckingham lays down the tropic of Cancer. Taeefa contains several remains of ancient buildings, scattered about on an open cultivated spot of more than a mile in length, and about half in depth;

* See Greek inscriptions.



Drawn by H. Light

Engraved by H. A.

bounded by the desert and its mountains. The village might contain two or three hundred inhabitants; and had a sheik, who regulated their labour and subsistence. The doum and palm-tree flourished here.

The antiquities consist of several spacious oblong enclosures of masonry, of not more than three or four feet in height, some of which are filled with blocks of stone, unfinished cornices, and parts of doorways. These enclosures are at both ends of the plain, in which the village stands. In the centre of the plain, separate from each other, are two buildings; one complete, having the form of a portico, the other in ruin, and seems to be the remains of a primitive Christian church.

The first is almost blocked up in front by a mass of mud, and is surrounded by the hovels of the natives. It is a pyramidal portico, facing the south, having two columns engaged in a wall almost to the bottom of their capitals, which are the full blown lotus, and support an entablature and cornice. Between the columns and the sides are small doorways, with cornice and frieze; and, above these, a second and third cornice; in each of which is the winged globe. The frieze has a bead and leaf worked on it.

The front of this building is about twenty-seven feet in length, and proportionably higher than others I had seen in Egypt. The inside is perfect, having a roof supported by

four clumsy columns standing on a plain circular base ; their capitals the full blown lotus. The depth of the building inside is not more than twenty feet, and there are not any hieroglyphics. Nothing remains to show that this portico was connected with any other building. On one of the walls inside is a cross of Maltese form.

The second building is open to the east : the north and south walls are in ruin, the west is complete. In this is a doorway, and within, in front, are two columns, with capitals of the full blown lotus, supporting a small portion of roof. Scriptural paintings, as large as life, in distemper, remain on the walls ; and over the cornice of the doorway is the winged globe. In front of the open side lay several capitals, broken shafts, and other fragments of buildings.

I was detained at Taeefa on the 16th, by the Kamseen wind, which changed in the evening to the north and west, driving the sands of the desert for miles so violently, as to obscure the air, and hide from view the rocks close to the boat. This continued for two hours, with violent gusts of wind, thunder, and lightning ; at last calmed by a torrent of rain. My guide, Osman, comforted himself by chanting praises of God and the prophet, in a most discordant voice ; whilst the boatmen, trembling and shrinking from the storm, hid themselves in the bottom of the boat.

We rowed through the *shellaal* of Galabshee, on the 17th

of May. This is the name given to those parts of the stream that are interrupted by rocks. Here the passage of boats is not impeded, as at Assuan, where the Nile is lost in streams of two, three, and four feet in diameter, which interrupt the navigation; except during the inundation, when, as I was informed, very small boats and rafts may pass the *shellaal*.

At Galabshee, the Nile flowing wide and beautiful, divides itself amongst several rocks* and uninhabited islands; then widens on passing them into a grand amphitheatre of bold and craggy precipices, interspersed with cultivated spots of ground, extending for about a mile; then closing to a narrow entrance at Taeefa, resumes its ordinary breadth.

On the eastern bank, on an elevated spot, are the remains of an Arab mud-built castle; and on one of the islands, those of a village and castle, which, though of wretched construction, proved that more civilisation had once marked this place.

Beyond this the rocks recede, become lower, and the land appears cultivated. The village of Galabshee, which Norden, by mistake, places opposite Taeefa, is close to the opening

* I had occasion to remark, attached to the granite masses of these cataracts, shells of the oyster kind, similar to those often found in petrifications. I attributed their presence to some communication of former times between the Nile and the Ocean, and mentioned what I had seen to Professor Playfair.

on the west bank, and has a larger population than Taeefa, the inhabitants living in huts round a ruined temple.

They seemed more jealous of my appearance amongst them than any I had seen: I was surrounded by them, and "bucksheesh, bucksheesh," "a present," echoed from all quarters, before they would allow me to look at their temple. One more violent than the rest threw dust in the air*, the signal both of rage and defiance; ran for his shield, and came towards me dancing, howling, and striking the shield with the head of his javelin, to intimidate me. A promise of a present pacified him, and enabled me to make my remarks and sketches.

The remains of the temple are a butment of masonry, which rises above the bank of the river at about one hundred and seventy or eighty feet from the front of the temple, to which, from the butment, leads a paved approach. On each side of this pavement there appears to have been a row of sphinxes, one of which lay headless near the pavement.

At the end there seems to have been steps leading to a terrace, thirty-six feet in breadth, from which rise two pyramidal moles, with a gateway between them, forming a

* And they gave him audience unto this word, and then lifted up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth; and they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust in the air. *Acts of the Apostles*, chap. 22.



front of about one hundred and ten feet. The upper part of the moles, to within three or four layers of stone above the gateway, was in ruin. The moles at the gateway are eighteen or twenty feet thick, of solid masonry. Inside this is a court of about forty feet, now filled with broken shafts, capitals, &c.; and appears to have had a colonnade to the side walls, joining the moles with the portico. Of this colonnade only one column remains, on which is a capital much disfigured, supporting a fragment of ceiling.

The portico consists of four columns, engaged half their height in a wall, raised in the centre to form an entrance. A lateral wall divides the portico from a suite of four inner apartments, separated by lateral walls, in each of which are door-ways in the centre, and over them are winged globes in the cornice. Within the first of the inner suite of apartments there appears to have been a colonnade, of which two columns remain on the left hand side, with two or three fragments of an architrave. Their capitals are defaced, and the space within filled with broken shafts, capitals, and blocks of stone of immense size. This and the interior of the portico are ornamented only round the sides of the door-ways. The other three apartments are covered with the usual hieroglyphics and symbolic figures. Remains of colouring exist fresh and bright. All the apartments are encumbered with ruins, and have scarcely any ceiling left.

The front of the portico is plain, with the exception of a winged globe over the gateway. Inside the portico are Scriptural paintings, similar to those in modern Greek churches; and a head with a nimbus appears above the ruins, on the wall of the last apartment, with these characters *ΚΑΛΩΤΕ* over it. The moles have no hieroglyphics or symbolic figures, excepting a few round the gateway, which are in the first outline.

A wall, now in ruin, beginning from the inner extremity of the moles, surrounds the whole. The shafts of the columns are nearly six feet in diameter; and I should judge the height to contain between five and six diameters, which seems to be a common proportion in Egyptian architecture. The centre capitals of the portico differ from the exterior ones, and all are much defaced.

On the north column I copied a Greek inscription*, in red letters. There are two others, which I did not copy, as also one in Coptic. The neighbourhood of the temple is covered with immense blocks of stone, on one of which, that seemed the upper part of a capital, were the following Greek characters:

ΠΙΛΟΤΑΙΑΝ
ΕΠΑΡΧΩ

* See Greek inscriptions at the end.

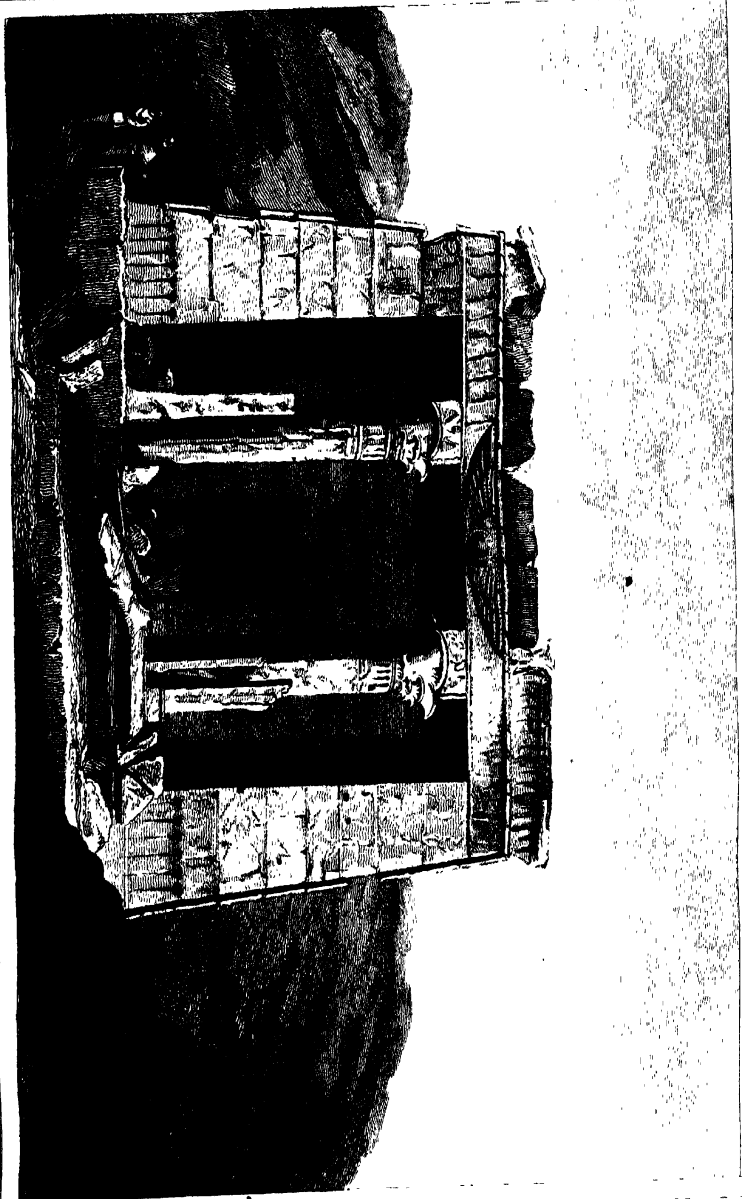
On the morning of the 18th, we sailed, but were obliged to moor below Aboohore, on the east bank, which is enclosed by barren rocks of sand-stone and granite; on the top of which I scrambled, and found the whole country to the east, as far as the eye could reach, broken into masses of rock, presenting a most frightful and desolate appearance. I saw remains of Roman bricks on the shore.

On the 19th, I was obliged to remain at Aboohore. Here the hills recede, leaving a large space of ground for cultivation, watered by wheels, and bearing more marks of civilisation than the other villages, and the inhabitants more industrious, their huts chiefly scattered amongst numerous palm-trees. At this place there is a small *shellaal*, which leaves only a narrow passage to the west; the rest being a low ridge of rocks. Opposite to Aboohore, placed as if to command this passage, is a ruined Arab castle of unbaked bricks. At Aboohore, an assembly of women was collected, howling over the dead body of a child.

By dint of towing, we arrived at Garsery, called by Norden Garbe Dendour, on the 20th of May, on the west bank, where I landed to visit the ruins.

Nothing can be more barren than the rocks and hills, on each side, passed in this day's progress; and the few huts I saw were made of loose stones, cemented with mud, and covered with a flat roof of straw, or branches of palm-trees.

The ruins at Garsery consist of a front of masonry of three sides, enclosing a portico and gateway. The longest side of this front is about one hundred feet, and faces the river; the other two about sixty feet each. Their greatest height, above the ground, ten feet, and built of large stones. In the centre of the enclosure stands the gateway, formerly connecting two pyramidal moles, of which scarcely any traces are left. Over the gateway is a cornice and fillet: its height, including five feet of the foundation seen, is about twenty feet. There is a winged globe in the cornice. Beyond is the portico of a small temple, consisting of the usual pyramidal front, and has two columns engaged in a wall half their height. Its front is not more than twenty-two feet, and the intercolumniation seven and a half. The entablature is perfect; part of the centre of the cornice is defaced: the capitals of the columns are alike, presenting the form of the full blown lotus. The portico is covered with hieroglyphics, and symbolic figures. It is separated from two inner chambers by a lateral wall, in which, opposite the entrance to the portico, is a door-way with cornice. In the sides of the portico are small entrances. The first of the two inner chambers is a mere passage; its ceiling is perfect, without ornament, excepting over the door-way of the lateral wall, separating it from the second chamber. The outline of a door-way is traced on the hind wall of the second chamber, over which



Drawn by H. Smith

PORTICO AT GARSERY

Engraved from a drawing by H. Smith & Martin Van der Meer

Engraved by C. Heath

are three winged globes, one above the other; and two symbolic figures, one on each side. It is without ceiling. Behind is an unconnected chamber, excavated from the rock, and built up with masonry on the inside, very small, and without sculpture.

The ruins of a portico are to be seen at Garshee*, called Guerfeh Hassan in Mr. Legh's work, which, from his account, are highly interesting: they are situated on the west bank, between Garsery and Dukkey; opposite to the latter place, we moored on the 21st of May. I found the desert bounding both sides of the Nile.

Having crossed from our mooring place on the 22d, I landed, and skirted the desert for about an hour; treading often on Roman tiles and bricks; and arrived at the temple of Dukkey, called by Norden El Guaren. The front faces the north close to the river, and consists of two pyramidal moles, with gateway complete: a cornice and torus surround the whole. The dimensions of this front are about seventy-five feet in length, forty in height, and fifteen in depth. The walls are without hieroglyphics. In the cornice, over the gateway, is the winged globe. In each of the moles,

* I was told, by the boatmen, there were only a few stones. I have to regret being induced to believe them.

in the inside front, are small door-ways, with cornice and winged globe, leading by a stone staircase to small chambers, and to the top. A court of about forty feet in depth separates the moles from a pyramidal portico, in which are two columns engaged half their height in a wall, elevated in the centre, forming the entrance. The depth of the portico is about eighteen feet, divided by a lateral wall from the inner chambers, which consists of a suite of three, to each of which is a door-way, with cornice and winged globe. The ceiling of the portico is almost perfect, composed of single stones. Between the centre columns are winged scárabœi, the rest is covered with Scriptural paintings.

The ceilings of the second and third chambers are imperfect; of the third very little remains. The walls here are highly finished with the usual hieroglyphics and symbolic figures, that in the third chamber are much larger than in the other parts of the building. The upper part of the side walls of the portico have the remains of some Scriptural designs, representing men on horseback approaching towards angels, whose hands seemed lifted up in supplication.

The whole was surrounded by a wall of four feet high, extending from the two extremes of the moles. The depth of the chambers and portico is about ninety feet. The breadth of the innermost chamber, measured outside, was about thirty feet. On the lower stones outside are hierogly-

phics. Over the gateway of the portico are the following Greek characters, in the place where the winged globe is generally seen :

Τ Η Ε Ρ Α Σ . . .

Θ Ε Ο . . .

A variety of inscriptions, cut about the gateway of the mole, prove that this temple was erected to Mercury*.

From Dukkey, where the rocks and desert begin to leave room for cultivation on the banks of the Nile, and many palm-trees appear, we proceeded up the river; and, in a short time, were hailed from the western shore by a follower of the Cashief of Deir: we were obliged to pay him a visit, and found him sitting under a shady palm-tree on a carpet, surrounded by some dirty half naked attendants. He rose on my approaching, bade me sit down by him, and put a cushion under my elbow. His visit to the village (named Ouffeddoonee) was for the purpose of residing some days here with two of his wives, of whom he is said to have thirty, living in different parts of his territory, and amongst them he divides his time.

He was dressed in a coarse linen shirt and turban, without slippers, and he alone of the whole party had a pipe in

* See Greek inscriptions.

his hand. I presented him with a telescope and small pocket-knife: these he was at first inclined to refuse, saying I was welcome without an offering. A pipe, dates, and coffee, were brought me; and a wooden bowl filled with curds rendered sour, and sweetened with a sort of sweet-meat made of dates. His attendants sat down by us in a circle, and many trifling questions were asked of me by all. My wearing apparel was examined. I was questioned about my rank, what number of soldiers my king commanded, how many wives he had, in what garrison I was, and how far off; what number of guns it contained, and whether my Pasha, meaning my commanding officer, had power of life and death.

On my telling the Cashief that he ought to send his son to see England, he pointed to the presents I made him, and asked if it was necessary to send presents to my king; upon my answering in the negative, he replied, "Then why do you English bring me presents?" The Cashief, whose name is Hassan, is one of three brothers, hereditary chiefs of the country between Philæ and Dongola. He was a young man of about twenty-five years of age, and his territory extends from Philæ to Deir. He has a nominal absolute power, which, however, he does not exercise oppressively, nor does he interfere with the quarrels of the natives.

He gave me a letter to his son, a boy of ten years old,

left at Deir, from whom I was to receive all necessary protection and assistance. On my leaving him, he presented me with a sheep. Proceeding from hence, the shores become flat, and the hills are at considerable distance from the river. We arrived at Naboo, on the west bank, where they again appear in rocks of sand stone. From Naboo the river winds east and west, the hills sometimes receding on one side; whilst, on the other, bold rocks reach to the water's edge.

We proceeded during part of the night of the 23d of May, and the wind continuing fair, we passed Seboo, on the west bank, where the propylæa of a temple are seen at about two hundred yards from the water side; the rest of the temple appeared almost buried in the sand. A few palm-trees and small strips of cultivated land, with here and there a miserable hut, serve to show that the country is not entirely abandoned. We passed El Garba on the east, where the Nile flows close to the mountains, presenting a wild and dreary appearance.

We towed from our mooring-place a few miles, and arrived at El Kharaba on the 24th. At Songaree, the Nile takes a bold turn to the west, and we continued in that direction to El Kharaba. At Coroska, there is a small *shellaal* on the eastern side, opposite to which, at Erreiga, is a mud fort.

The west bank is almost desert, the east continues with

bold rocks and hills, lined with villages, of a better construction than those on the west, situated amongst palm-trees. These, however, were mere mud buildings, which on the west were generally of stones, or poles covered with mats or palm-branches.

On the 25th we arrived at Deir. This is a long straggling village of mud cottages, situated in a thickly planted grove of palm-trees. The cashief's house, the best I had seen since I left Cairo, is built of baked and unbaked bricks. In front is a rude colonnade, forming a sort of caravansera. Adjoining is a mosque, the only one I had observed after leaving Philæ. The village is about a mile in length; its population must be considerable, though I could never obtain any other answer to my inquiries on that head than, "*many*." I landed, and went to a mud caravansera, in which were horses, and waited till the cashief's son could be sent for.

A Mamelouk, with a Greek for his attendant, had lately arrived from Dongola as a merchant. From him I heard that the Mamelouks had taken possession of the country on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Dongola, where they had been driven by the Pasha of Egypt; that they were in force about eleven hundred, under Ibrahim Bey, the partner and competitor in power with Mourad Bey, at the time when the French took possession of Egypt; that after de-

stroying the petty chiefs of the country, they had armed five or six thousand blacks; that one of their beys had been able to cast cannon; and that amongst the Mamelouks there were eight English and ten French deserters.

The Greek, who at first pretended to be a Turk, took me aside, showed me the sign of the cross on his arm, and, by way of exciting my compassion, broke out, in bad English, in execration of the Turks.

After waiting a short time in the caravansera, the son of the cashief came in, attended by a number of half-clothed attendants, squatted himself down in one corner of the room, took me by the hand, and welcomed me. On receiving his father's letter, he got up, ran out to have it read by the imam, and returned presently, offering me every thing I wished. He was about to order food to be brought; but being told I should not eat it, begged me to return to my boat, and in the evening visit him again.

On arriving at my boat, I found he had sent me a kid and a bowl of bread, in the centre of which was the preserve of dates before mentioned; for which I returned him a present of a gold ring of trifling value. In the evening I went on shore; and the young cashief, rather better dressed than in the morning, having the addition of a sword by his side and my ring on his thumb, received me in the open air with an affectation of manly dignity, seated himself on the ground,

and formed his divan. Having replied to his questions, and obtained a promise of horses for myself and Osman, to enable me to cross the desert that night and visit Ibrim, I took my leave, and went to the rocks behind the village, followed by a numerous party of the natives, who came in hopes of seeing me discover treasures in the ruins, the supposed object of the visits of all Europeans to this part of the world. The Mamelouk, who fancied himself wiser than the rest, asked me whether the English, French, or Genoese had built the temples, and whether the object of my visit was not the work of my ancestors.

When I arrived at the rocks, I found that the supposed temple was only a large excavation, evidently a burial-place. The approach to it was through two rows of incomplete square pillars, hewn out of the rock; their height above the ground is about four feet. At the end of this approach is a rough sort of portico, composed of four square pillars, with entablature. A ceiling, the greatest part of which is fallen down, connected them with the front of the excavation, scarped perpendicularly from the rock. On the outside front of the pillars of the portico are the lower parts, from the waist, of whole length statues in full relief; their height originally extended to the top of the entablature: they appear to have had the conical casque common to Egyptian statues, and stand on square bases.



Emergency Boat

EMERGENCY BOAT ON THE WATER

Emergency Boat

The front of the excavation is seven feet thick. There are two entrances: the largest, between the centre pillars, is almost blocked up by the stones of the ceiling. On the right is a smaller entrance. Both are without architectural ornaments. The interior is divided by a lateral wall of rock into two sets of chambers. The first, which is largest, is about sixty-nine feet in length, by forty in breadth. Its ceiling, formed by the rock, is supported by two rows of square pillars, three in each, with a coarse entablature; their dimensions five feet by five, and intercolumniation six feet. In the lateral wall are three doors. The centre one leads to an inner chamber, twenty-one feet by fifteen; at the end of which are two steps, and a seat, intended for the statues usually found in the tombs of the ancient Egyptians.

On the right wall of this chamber are two recesses, close together, about two feet square and one deep: on the left is one recess of the same size. On each side of this chamber is a smaller one, to which the other two doors in the lateral wall lead. The breadth of the portico is the same as that of the great chamber. The sides of the rock, cut away to form the approach to the front, are covered with hieroglyphics and symbolic figures. The latter represent the warlike actions of some hero, and are rudely cut. The front of the excavation and the interior have hieroglyphics and symbolic figures; of which one set on the right is similar to that

in the temple of Cneph at Elephantina. Remains of colouring exist.

In the neighbourhood of this excavation are several square holes opening to vaults, the tops of whose arches appear. The rest is choked up with sand and rubbish; the bones and pieces of cloth, like those seen in the mummy-pits of Egypt, are found lying about them.

The jealousy of the natives, who could not be persuaded I was not influenced by the desire to seek for treasures, prevented me from making those researches that might perhaps have led to the discovery of the connecting character between the hieroglyphic, Coptish, and Greek languages; for it cannot be supposed the two former were dropped at once; and that whilst the custom of preserving the bodies of the dead in the Egyptian manner was continued by the early Christians, there should not be some traces of the language of the people from whom it was copied. Such a discovery may be attempted by some future traveller.

The sides of the openings are well finished. On one I traced a cross of this form \oplus preceding the following Greek characters:

ANOKPIATΛOEICZAINAI

And on another were these:

Ι+ΠΧΧ ΠΟΗΗΖΟΝ
ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΛΟΤ
ΑΝΤΟΝΙΟΥ

which were the first inscriptions I had seen that appeared connected with Christianity.

Having made my remarks and sketches, I determined to set out on my expedition to Ibrim. Leaving my servant in the boat, I armed myself with musquet and pistols, and, attended by Osman and two of the cashief's servants, I set off about eight o'clock at night. My good fortune, that had prevented me from embarking in the vessel in which the officer of engineers, whose adventures I have given in the foregoing part of this work, was wrecked, seemed not to fail me at the end of my voyage; and I had reason to be grateful for a second providential escape.

I had always been in the habit of walking about armed with my loaded pistols, which I carried in a deep inside pocket on each side of a loose nankeen jacket. In my visit to the cashief's son he begged to see one of them, which I cocked, and imagine I forgot to uncock it again. From its position in my waistcoat, it hung usually pointed to the lower part of my body. It was a constant risk, but better than being without arms; and I had no other convenient means of carrying them. My expedition to Ibrim from Deir induced me to take additional arms for my defence, and some necessaries for the journey, that loaded my pockets and person unequally. By a momentary impulse, previous to mounting on horseback, I changed my cartouch-box from

the left to the right side, which elevated the muzzle of the pistol out of its usual position. I had not proceeded above half a mile, when in the midst of a plantation of palm-trees it went off. The explosion confused me, as the butt end of the pistol struck violently against my side, and at first made me suppose I was wounded. My guide Osman uttered an exclamation, which I fancied an expression of revenge, and a prelude to further violence, in consequence of some misunderstanding between his father and myself, previous to my departure from Philæ. A natural impulse made me rush against him: luckily before I had proceeded to violence I found out my mistake, that my pistol had dropped through my pocket; that the ball had only grazed my hip, and burnt my waistcoat and pantaloons, without hurting me. I considered this as a good omen, thanked Heaven most fervently for my escape, and traversed the desert with confidence. The reflection of the melancholy consequences of any accident happening to me, in a country so far removed from the possibility of surgical assistance, gave place to more agreeable sensations. With these, in spite of continual danger, over the barren and rocky mountains we had to pass, from the badness of the road, I proceeded on my way to Ibrim: fortunately in the most difficult part there was a bright moon.

About an hour after midnight we arrived at Ibrim, where

I found there were still two hours' ride to what the natives called the temple. As the moon had gone down, and the rest of the road lay over rocks by the river-side, we halted. One of the natives brought me a mat, on which I lay down, and soon fell asleep.

Early in the morning of the 26th I proceeded by the water-side, under high cliffs, towards the temple, and found merely a ruined castle of considerable size, seated on a high rock, separated from the rest of the hills by a ravine on each side. It presents a high cliff, scarped perpendicularly to the water-side, and is a strong position against an army unprovided with artillery; but the mountains are near enough to enable guns to bear upon it from commanding positions. The works consist of square towers, connected by walls of rude stones, piled on one another, and strengthened by trunks of palm-trees and shafts of columns laid transversely. Its interior presents the ruins of an Arab town, consisting of a mosque of stone, with mud and stone dwelling-houses; shafts, capitals, and columns, of grey granite lay scattered about, on some of which I distinguished the cross of Maltese form. This castle is probably one erected by Selim the Second.

On my return I was shown an excavation in one of the rocks, which I visited. It consists of a chamber twenty feet wide and ten deep. Opposite the entrance is a recess, forming a seat; and above, in a shallower recess, are three figures

sitting, in alto relievo, much defaced. There are a few lines, rudely traced, as a sort of cornice to the entrance, in which is a winged globe. On the walls of the chamber, half way from the ceiling downwards, are hieroglyphics and symbolic figures. The ceiling is rock, unfinished, but inclined to an arch. I distinguished the Greek letters Α Π Ο on one of the sides, and something like a cross.

Proceeding through the village, I was met by a venerable old man, who I found was called 'the Aga; who prayed me, in the patriarchal manner, to "tarry till the sun was gone down; to alight, refresh myself, and partake of the food he would prepare for the stranger."

I gladly accepted his invitation. A clean mat was spread for me under the shade of the wall of his house, and refreshments, consisting of wheaten cake, broken into small bits and put into water sweetened with date-juice, were brought me in a wooden bowl; then curds, with liquid butter and preserved dates; and lastly, a bowl of milk.

Having taken what I wanted, I entered the door of the aga's house, which, like all the rest, was of mud. I found myself in a room separated from the other part of the house by a court, and covered by a simple roof of palm-tree branches. This was the place of his divan. Here my mat and cushion were brought me; and the natives flocked about, with their usual questions, whether I came to look for

money; whether Christians or Moslems, English or French, built the temples. My pencil they did not understand, and they could not comprehend the use of a pocket fork that I showed them, and for which they had no name. The aga, having prepared a dinner for me, invited several of the natives to sit down. Water was brought in a skin, by an attendant, to wash our hands. Two fowls roasted were served up on wheaten cakes in a wooden bowl, covered with a small mat, and a number of the same cakes in another; in the centre of these was liquid butter and preserved dates. These were divided, broken up, and mixed together by some of the party, whilst others pulled the fowls to pieces; which done, the party began to eat as fast as they could; getting up one after the other, as soon as their hunger was satisfied; the aga in the mean time looking on*.

During my visit I observed an old imam attempt to perform a cure on one of the natives, who came to him on account of a head-ache from which he suffered. It was done in the following manner: the patient squatted himself down near the imam, who putting his finger and thumb to the patient's forehead, closed them gradually together, pinching

* "And Abraham ran into the herd, &c. and he stood by them, and they did eat." *Genests*, chap. xviii. 7, 8.

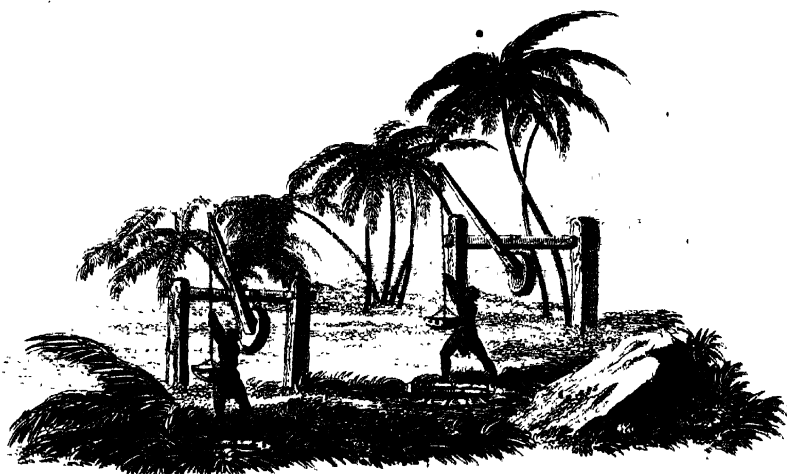
the skin into wrinkles as he advanced, mumbling a prayer, spitting on the ground, and lastly on the part affected. This continued for about a quarter of an hour, and the patient got up, thoroughly convinced he should soon be well.

This style of cure seems to be a common superstition of the Egyptians; for at Erment, the ancient Hermontis, an old woman applied to me for medicine for a disease in her eyes, and on my giving her some directions she did not seem to like, requested me to spit in her eyes, which I did; and she went away, blessed me, and was well satisfied of the certainty of her cure*.

The appearance of the aga pleased me: he told me his town extended for three miles; that the government was divided between himself and another, independent of the Cashief of Deir, by a firman from the Pasha of Egypt; that it had suffered from the flight of the Mamelouks, and pursuit of the Turks. The whole town lies amongst palm-trees, is built without regularity, and bears marks of the ravages of war. The houses, often pyramidal, are built in squares of mud, of one story high, the roofs of palm branches laid flat. On passing through it the night before, I found the inha-

* See note to preface of Walpole's *Memoirs* relative to European and Asiatic Turkey, Part I. See also Mark, chap. vii. 35. viii. 23.

bitants were lying outside their doors, in the open air, on mats, each containing five or six persons. Having taken leave of the aga, we returned homewards by the water side, which was lined by rocks of considerable height, sometimes close to the water side, at others retired, leaving room for cultivation. I observed, on some of the rocks, tablets of hieroglyphics well cut, generally having the figure of some animal on the centre, over the inscription.



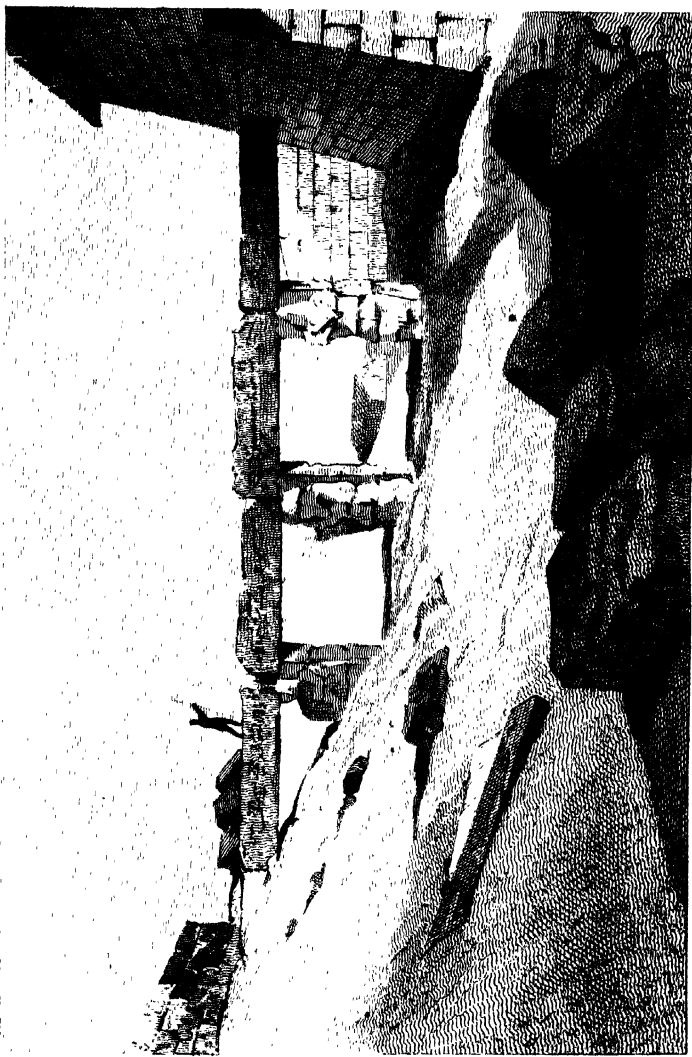
METHOD OF RAISING WATER

CHAPTER V.

Departure for Philæ from Deir—Temple at Seboo, at Ouffeddoonie—Caravan of Gelabs—Temple at Deboo—State of the inhabitants of the village—Grand approach to Philæ—Character of the inhabitants between Philæ and Ibrim—Language of the Nubians—Religion—Dress—Arms—Trade.

I ARRIVED at Deir in the evening, and after receiving a visit from the little cashief, who took coffee and a glass of racky*, descended the river with the stream. The boat was now pre-

* Racky, a sweet spirit distilled from dates, much used by the Nubians.



THE SHIP'S HULL RESTING ON THE BEACH AT SEBASTIA

THE SHIP'S HULL RESTING ON THE BEACH AT SEBASTIA

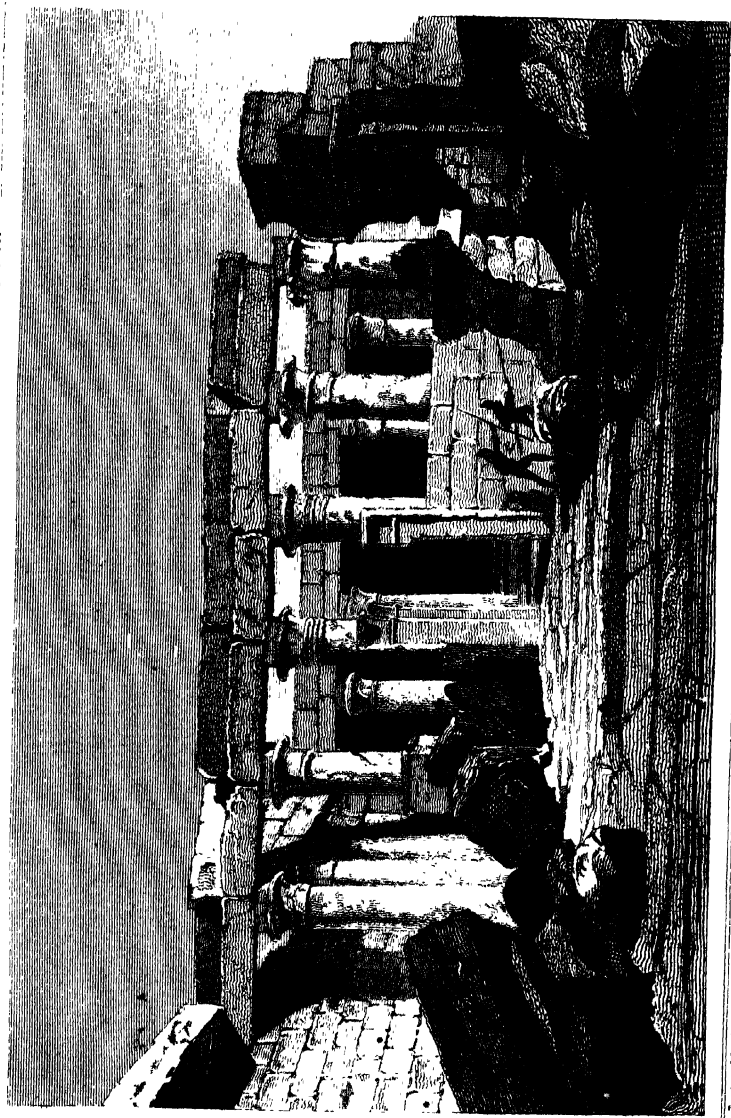
THE SHIP'S HULL RESTING ON THE BEACH AT SEBASTIA

pared for rowing, and stripped of its masts and sails. The boatmen kept time to their oars with a loud and hoarse song.

On the 27th, in the morning, we were at Coroskee; we continued to Seboo, called by Norden Sebua, and Mr. Legh Sibhoi, where I landed to visit the temple remaining there. The sand of the desert had almost covered the portico and court in front. It consists of two pyramidal moles, facing the east, of masonry, having a gateway between. The moles are not more than thirty feet above the sand; their front ninety feet in length. The gateway is six feet wide, and about twenty in height. A cornice and torus surrounds the moles and the upper part of the gateway. Round the cornice of the moles a waving line is sculptured, without any other ornament. The gateway is twelve feet thick, and opens to a court almost filled with sand, in front of the portico, whose roof appears to be formed from the rock. It is joined to the moles by a colonnade of three square pillars on each side, on the front of which are disfigured statues in alto relievo, half buried in the sand. The pillars support an entablature, and are enclosed by a wall from the two extremes of the moles. The entablature of this colonnade is of single stones, from pillar to pillar, twelve feet long, four broad, and three deep. On these, and on the walls, are hieroglyphics and symbolic figures, representing some deity receiving of-

ferings : the usual subject of all the sculpture on the walls of Egyptian temples.

Two rows of sphinxes led to the temple. They began at about fifty paces from the front. There are five remaining uncovered with sand ; three in full length out of the ground, and the heads only of two others. The distance from each other in row is eighteen feet, and between the opposite rows thirty feet. They are about eleven feet from nose to extreme part. The two first are much decayed, or were never finished. The third, making the second in the left row, is highly finished ; but its head, which lies near it, has been struck off. The head in the opposite row is equally well finished. The fifth makes the third in the left row. Between the two front sphinxes are gigantic figures in alto relievo, on pilasters. They are about fourteen feet high, and formed the entrance to the avenue. They have the left leg advanced, have a ceinture, breast-plate, and pyramidal casque, and are four feet broad across the shoulders. On the back of the pilasters are hieroglyphics, as well as on that part of the pilasters left uncovered by the statues. Similar statues, now thrown down, stood in front of the gateway of the moles ; one of them, half buried in the ground, to the waist ; the other shows the whole length, but is half covered with sand. All these are of the same hard sand stone as the moles. I could not discover any Greek inscription.



Engraved by H. Light

Engraved by H. Light

THE TEMPLE OF VENUS AT POMPEII

Engraved by H. Light

Having left Seboo the evening before, we arrived on the 28th at Ouffeddounee, where there are architectural remains, in the neighbourhood of a considerable village. I landed, and near the water-side found an oblong building, of about fifty-four feet in length and thirty in breadth, which seems to have been part of a primitive Christian church. There are sixteen columns, presenting six on the north and south sides, and four on the east and west, all perfect, of about two feet three inches in diameter. Of the surrounding wall the north side only is perfect.

In the east end a sort of chancel projects southward, at right angles with the south columns, in which are painted Scriptural figures, like those in modern Greek churches. The capitals are not alike, nor do they appear to have been finished. They support a die and entablature composed of single stones from column to column, about six feet in length; the shafts are proportionably small. I saw many painted Greek inscriptions on the entablatures or frieze of the interior, in small characters, which I could not distinguish; the first words of all were, ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΕΚΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ. In the centre of the frieze on the west end, in a small stone tablet in relief, was the word ΙΩΑΝΝΙ, painted in red letters.

In front of the south columns are several rows of stones in regular order, apparently of part of the building thrown down, on which were hieroglyphics; and, on one, some Greek

characters which I could not trace. A bare wall, near the south-east end of this ruin, contains symbolic figures of bad sculpture, evidently Scriptural*.

Below Ouffeddounee we passed a caravan of Gelabs (slave-merchants), from Dongola, on their way to Siout, who had encamped on the west bank. I observed they were more attentive to the forms of the Mahometan religion than the natives of these parts, of whom I had scarcely seen any who attended to its ceremonies.

On the 29th and 30th of May we continued descending the Nile to the cataracts of Galabshee, where I was tempted to land, for the purpose of sketching the grand scene they presented to my view: but as we approached the shore, the natives of the neighbourhood ran down with their weapons, dancing and howling, as if to oppose my landing; I therefore thought it more prudent to continue my voyage.

We arrived at Deboo on the 31st of May. Here, on landing, to examine the ruins of the temple I mentioned in my ascent up the Nile, I found the greatest part of the population of the village had taken refuge in its enclosure for protection against the attacks of that of another; which, to revenge the murder of one of their number by an inhabitant of Deboo, committed nightly depredations on the latter,

* One had reference to the Virgin, sitting under a tree.

hamstringing cattle which they could not carry off, plundering and murdering every male inhabitant they could find: this was to be continued till one of the family of the murderer was sacrificed to their revenge.

I observed that the people of this village were more friendly to me than any I had met with: no person asked for a present, and all seemed anxious to show me what was to be seen; which might perhaps be imputed to their fears.

Not knowing how soon their enemies might appear, I contented myself with taking a general view of the ruins. They consist of three gates to pyramidal moles; of which latter no traces now remain. These gates are behind each other, at unequal distances; and behind the last, a portico of four columns, with entablature, cornice, and side-walls in high preservation.

The first gate is plain, with a cornice and fillet above the doorway, which is about sixteen feet high. In the cornice is a small oblong in relief, apparently intended for an inscription. The gateway is twelve feet thick of masonry. There are openings at the top, differing from any thing I had seen in other temples, and which in fortification would be said to be for argues.

The second gateway is twenty-two paces distant, and has a winged globe in the cornice. The doorway is rather wider than the first, though of the same thickness.

The next gateway is nine paces distant, and the portico from this fourteen paces.

The breadth of the portico is nearly sixty feet.

The columns are plain, with the capitals of the centre differing from those on the sides. They are half engaged in a wall, which has a cornice and fillet, and outlines of symbolic figures. The centre is raised to form a gateway. The depth of the portico is about fourteen feet, and has hieroglyphics in the interior, as high as the wall in which the columns are engaged. On the left on entering, is a doorway leading to an inner room, plain, and without roof. Three of the stones of the ceiling of the portico, which was composed of single stones, laid perpendicularly from the front to the rear, remain. The portico is divided by a lateral wall from several small rooms, which seemed to be mere passages to the sanctuary. On the side walls of the first are hieroglyphics and symbolic figures. It is without ceiling, nine feet wide and eighteen deep. Beyond is a second chamber, on each side of which are others, and last of all the sanctuary, in which are two monolithic temples, of single blocks of granite, in high preservation, and highly ornamented. The largest is about twelve feet long and three wide; the other rather smaller. Their ornaments differ.

The last rooms are without hieroglyphics, and the doors without cornice or ornament.

The second room and side chambers have ceiling; that of the sanctuary is in ruin. The whole depth, from the front of the portico to the end, is seventy feet. The front walls at the sides of the columns, the entablature, and cornice are plain. The shafts are about fifteen feet high and three in diameter, and without ornament.

The whole was enclosed by walls, of which only a few layers remain. On one of the gateways I saw some defaced Greek characters.

We left Deboo on the same evening, and arrived at Philæ soon after sun-rise on the 1st of June. The approach to this place from the south presented a view still more sublime and magnificent than that from the north and west. If, as is generally related, it lay on the boundary* line of the ancient kingdom, and formed an entrance to it, the sight of so much grandeur must have impressed a stranger with awe and admiration, that would have humbled him before the people he was visiting.

The people who occupy the shores of the Nile between Philæ and Ibrim are, for the most part, a distinct race from

* The word Philæ is not, according to M. Quatremere, derived from the Greek; but from the Egyptian *Pilakh*, *extrémité*, alluding to its being the frontier town of Egypt. Mem. sur l'Egypte, i. 388. For the Greek origin of the word, see Tillemont, H. des Em. 4. Walpole's note, p. 420.

those of the north. The extent of the country is about one hundred and fifty miles ; which, according to my course on the Nile up and down, I conceive may be about two hundred by water, and is estimated at much more by Mr. Hamilton and others. They are called by the Egyptians *Goobli*, meaning in Arabic the people of the south. My boatmen from Boolac applied *Goobli* generally to them all, but called those living about the cataracts Berber. Their colour is black ; but the change to it, in the progress from Cairo, does not occur all at once to the traveller, but by gradual alteration to the dusky hue from white. Their countenance approaches to that of a negro ; thick lips, flattish nose and head, the body short, and bones slender : the leg bones have the curve observed in negroes : the hair is curled and black, but not woolly. Men of lighter complexion are found amongst them ; which may be accounted for by intermarriage with Arabs, or a descent from those followers of Selim the Second who were left here upon his conquest of the country. On the other hand, at Galabshee the people seemed to have more of the negro than elsewhere ; thicker lips, and hair more tufted, as well as a more savage disposition.

The Nubian language is different from the Arabic. The latter, as acquired from books and a teacher, had been of very little use to me in Egypt itself ; but here, not even the vulgar dialect of the Lower Nile would serve for common

intercourse, except in that district extending from Dukkey to Deir, where the Nubian is lost, and Arabic prevails again: a curious circumstance; and, when considered with an observation of the lighter colour of this people, leads to a belief of their being descended from Arabs. The Nubian, in speaking, gave me an idea of what I have heard of the clucking of Hottentots. It seems a succession of monosyllables, accompanied with a rise and fall of voice that is not disagreeable.

I saw few traces among them of government, or law, or religion. They know no master, although the cashief claims a nominal command of the country: it extends no farther than sending his soldiers to collect their tax, or rent, called *Mirri*. The Pasha of Egypt was named as sovereign in all transactions from Cairo to Assuan. Here, and beyond, as far as I went, the reigning Sultan Mahmood was considered the sovereign; though the cashief's was evidently the power they feared the most. They look for redress of injuries to their own means of revenge, which, in cases of blood, extends from one generation to another, till blood is repaid by blood. On this account, they are obliged to be ever on the watch and armed; and, in this manner, even their daily labours are carried on: the very boys go armed. They profess to be followers of Mahomet, though I rarely happened to observe any of their ritual observances of that religion.

Once, upon my endeavouring to make some of them comprehend the benefit of obedience to the rules of justice for punishing offences, instead of pursuing the offender to death as they practised, they quoted the Koran, to justify their requiring blood for blood.

Their dress, for the men, is a linen smock, commonly brown, with red or dark coloured scull cap. A few wear turbans and slippers. The women have a brown robe thrown gracefully over their head and body, discovering the right arm and breast, and part of one thigh and leg. They are of good size and shape, but very ugly in the face. Their necks, arms, and ankles, are ornamented with beads or bone rings, and one nostril with a ring of bone or metal*. Their hair is anointed with oil of cassia, of which every village has a small plantation. It is matted or plaited, as now seen in the heads of sphinxes and female figures of their ancient statues. I found one at Elephantina, which might have been supposed their model. Their little children are naked. Girls wear round the waist an apron of strings of raw hide, and boys a girdle of linen.

Their arms are knives or daggers, fastened to the back of

* This kind of ornament has been always adopted by the women of the East. Isaiah, iii. 21. speaks of the "nose jewels," and Ezek. xvi. 12. See Lowth in locum. Walpole's note, p. 422.

the elbow or in the girdle, javelins, tomahawks, swords of Roman shape, but longer, and slung behind them. Some have round shields of buffalo hide, and a few pistols and musquets are to be seen.

Their dealings with one another, or strangers, are carried on more by way of barter than money, which, I was informed, had not come into general use among them till lately. The para, which they call *faddâh*, of forty to the piastre, by them as well as Egyptians called *goorsh*; the macboob, of three piastres; and Spanish dollar called *real*, or *fransowy*, then worth seven and a half piastres, were current among them. In the price of cattle, a cow sold for twenty macboobs, and from that to forty; a calf from three to seven; a sheep from two to three. Dates and senna are their chief articles of trade; and no present can be more acceptable than gunpowder of European manufacture to their chiefs.

With regard to food, they prefer bartering to money, and esteem corn above every thing; but bread, in any European shape, is unknown. Theirs is commonly made of millet (doora) thicker than the oatmeal cakes of Scotland, and of that shape.

I had little opportunity of gaining geographical knowledge in this country. Since Norden's time, who visited it in the years 1737 and 1738, great changes have happened.

Some places mentioned by him are no longer spoken of, and perhaps lie overwhelmed with sand. He makes Nubia to begin at Galabshee, upon what authority I know not. I met with less difficulty of travelling than he seems to have encountered, yet could not extend my researches much farther, on account of the excessive heat. There was nothing in the state of the country to deter me from proceeding, if I had been so inclined. The Pasha's authority seemed well enough established, for a traveller under his protection to proceed as far as Dongola; and the good understanding between him and the English, had induced his officers to afford me every assistance. But, at Dongola, the Mamelouks held the country on the west bank; and, perhaps, would not have respected a person bearing firmans from the Pasha. However, I had often cause to observe, that the late appearance of French and English armies in Egypt had taught the inhabitants every where to respect the Franks more than they used to do; although no opportunity seemed ever to be lost of gross cheating and imposition of every kind, in all the dealings I had with them, not excepting the Sheik of Assuan.

I learned, from the natives, that at Wawdee Elfee, four days' journey above Ibrim by water, there were *shellaals*, rendering the Nile impassable for some days' travelling; and no boats of passage to be seen between that and Dongola; but could obtain no information of the state of the river

beyond that place. The names of the villages given me beyond Ibrim, on the west side, are Washebbak, Toshkai, Armeenee, Forgunt, Fairey, (one day on horseback ;) Guster, Andhan, Artino, Serrey, Deeberrey, Ishkeer, (two days;) Sahabba, Dabbarosy, Wawdee Elfee, (*shellaals*, Nile impassable, three days, four by water;) Wadelhowja, Owkmee, Serkey Mattoo, (one day;) Farkey, Wadelwalliam, Gintz, Atab, Amarra, Abbee, (two days;) Tebbel, Artinoa, Koikky, Ibboodeerkey, Sawada, (three days;) Irraoo, Oshey Mattoo Wawrvey, Koyey Mattoo, Irrew, Saddeeffent, Delleeko, Caibac, Wawdeimahas, Noweer, Farreeg*; from which to Dongola two days, in all eight days distant from Wawdee Elfee.

In this space, they said there were pictures, by which they meant hieroglyphics, in the rocks, the whole way; and also temples, in which were paintings like those at Dukkey. They mentioned, that at a place called Absimbal†, on the west bank, a day and a half from Ibrim, there was a temple like that at Seboo; and another of the same sort at a place called Farras, three hours farther on the same side. I regretted that no more information was to be procured on this

* Most of these villages are on the east bank of the Nile.

† Absimbal, mentioned by Mr. Belzoni, the artist employed by Mr. Salt, as Ybsambul, which he has described.

subject ; because it seemed to me, that the higher I advanced up the Nile, the signs of the ancient progress of Christianity southward on its banks, became apparent in the Greek inscriptions and other remains of antiquity, of which I had observed nothing below Philæ.

I remarked that no buffalo, though very common north of Assuan, was to be seen between Philæ and Ibrim. Crocodiles were common here, but no hippopotamus appeared ; but the natives spoke of it as seen during the time of inundation in the *shellaals*, particularly at Galabshee, calling it Farsh el bahr (the sea-horse). My voyage was made when the Nile was nearly at its lowest state, which circumstance must be attended to in the consideration of my descriptions.



A MEGALITHIC BLOCK & TEMPLE AT HERMONTIS

• CHAPTER VI.

Return from Philæ to Assuan—Nature of the cataracts—Descent of the Nile—General observations on the nature of the antiquities of Egypt—Egyptian wolf—Large lizard—Ancient reservoir at the temple of Diospolis at Thebes—Mummy caverns and mummies at Goornoo—Picturesque situation of temple at Dendyra—Devotion excited by it to the sepoy of Sir David Baird's army—Visit to Sacarrah—Arrival at Cairo—Ceremony of cutting the dyke.

ON the 2d of June I left Philæ, on foot, and walked round by the cataracts to Assuan, having sent my servant and baggage the usual road across the desert. In this excursion I saw the whole breadth of the ground occupied by the

cataracts, and was delighted with the wild sublimity of the scene, of which the buildings of Philæ form a part. The rocks, through which the Nile passes, cover a space of about a mile and a half; the limits of which are large masses of granite and sand stone: the intermediate ground is a ridge of irregular masses of the same substance, through which the Nile, in this season of the year, flowed in small streams, the largest of which was not three feet wide; some of them had a fall of about a foot, with the rapidity of a mill stream. The younger part of the natives of some small spots of cultivated ground, which even in this barren region were to be seen, endeavoured to attract my attention in hopes of reward, by jumping into the stream, and allowing themselves to be carried down by it.

On my arrival at Assuan, I determined on leaving the neighbourhood of the sheik, whose inclination to cheat and interrupt me I had before observed; and therefore crossed in my boat to the west side of Elephantina, on the 2d of June, when I again enjoyed the beauties of this remarkable island; and ascended the sandy hills of the Mokattam on that side of the Nile to the ruins of a convent, where the Gothic, or rather Saracenic architecture, brought to my recollection some of those I had seen in England.

After this, on the 3d of June, I began to descend the Nile; and visit, in succession, the numerous remains of an-

cient Egypt, for whose description I refer the reader to Mr. Hamilton's work on the antiquities of that country, and to other writers on the same subject. I felt they wanted that charm or interest which is raised in other countries whose history is known, where the traveller ranges over the ground on which heroes and remarkable men, whose actions are familiar to him, once dwelt. But here, though treading the soil where sprang the learning, and genius, and arts, to which Europe has been indebted for its present superiority among nations; where the magnificence of ancient Egypt still remains to prove the existence of all these in perfection, he can only admire the—

——— “*res antiquæ laudis et artis,*”

without any sentiment of attachment to persons or times. He is lost in admiration, and has no idea but that of the sublime. A long night of oblivion has intervened, to cut off all but conjectures of their history. My wonder and surprise were continually excited at the enormous masses of building which had defied the ravages of time: I was astonished at the grand and beautiful designs, and fine taste in their execution, still seen in many of the buildings; at the exquisite symmetry and neatness with which the massy columns have been raised and formed of stones, whose size yet leaves our ideas of architecture in amazement.

At Hellaal, the ancient Elethias, numerous tombs in the Mokattam, included in a space of more than two miles, part of which is in a large amphitheatre, formed by the hills retiring to the east from a narrow chasm, showed the existence of an immense city, of which there are no remains, except a few columns, one small building, and an entrenchment of unburnt bricks, whose base is forty feet, and called forth the speculations of Denon and other travellers. The tombs contain paintings, supposed to represent the profession of the deceased; and, amongst the articles of husbandry, in one of them is the sickle, now unknown to the modern inhabitants of Upper Egypt, who pull the corn up by the roots.

It was in the mountains above Hellaal, that I saw the Nems, an animal larger than the fox, resembling a wolf or jackall, which Hassalquist calls the Ichneumon. Not far from this, I was surprised by the appearance of a large reptile of the lizard kind, about eight or nine feet long, of a rich green colour, creeping amongst some sount bushes near the shores of the Nile. It answered the description of the animal which some old traveller, whose name I cannot exactly recollect, found in the Syrian desert; and stamps as the real dragon whom St. George was said to have encountered. The boatmen gave a name to it, which I neglected to write down, and it escaped my memory to ask it again. It appears to be of the Guaina kind.

The portico of Esneh, which the French cleared of the surrounding rubbish, was again made the receptacle for the dirt of the inhabitants of that part of the town. The northern columns are, however, still uncovered ; the southern ones are buried up to their capitals in sand and dust. I was precluded from the possibility of drawing this portico in its present state, from the existence of a mud wall within three or four feet in a parallel direction.

The temple at Aphroditopolis, about a mile and a half north of Esneh, has been much damaged within the last eight or nine years, by one of the Mamelouk chiefs, who fancied he should discover treasure there ; and, in consequence, blew up part of it with gunpowder.

If the first visit to Luxor disappointed me, I was amply repaid by my second, when I had time to consider the proportions of its parts, where the diameters of the columns were upwards of eight feet, supporting, at a height of forty, masses of stone of more than eighteen feet in length, with a breadth and depth of six. I found a village containing three or four hundred inhabitants, partly built amongst the columns, and partly on the terrace of the sanctuary, supposed to be the tomb of Osmandyas.

My visit to Carnac, the ancient Diospolis, a ruined temple farther from the banks of the river, on the same side as Luxor, was equally gratifying. It was impossible to look

on such an extent of building without being lost in admiration; no description will be able to give an adequate idea of the enormous masses still defying the ravages of time. Enclosure within enclosure, propylæa in front of propylæa; to these, avenues of sphinxes, each of fourteen or fifteen feet in length, lead from a distance of several hundred yards. The common Egyptian sphinx is found in the avenues to the south; but, to the west, the crio sphinx, with the ram's head, from one or two that have been uncovered, seems to have composed its corresponding avenue. Those of the south and east are still buried. Headless statues of grey and blue granite, of gigantic size, lay prostrate in different parts of the ruins. In the western court, in front of the great portico, and at the entrance to this portico, is an upright headless statue of one block of granite, whose size may be imagined from finding that a man of six foot just reaches to the patella of the knee.

The entrance to the great portico is through a mass of masonry, partly in ruins; through which the eye rests on an avenue of fourteen columns, whose diameter is more than eleven feet, and whose height is upwards of sixty. On each side of this are seven rows, of seven columns in each, whose diameter is eight feet, and about forty feet high, of an architecture which wants the elegance of Grecian models, yet suits the immense majesty of the Egyptian temple.

Though it does not enter into my plan to continue a description which has been so ably done by others before me, yet, when I say that the whole extent of this temple cannot be less than a mile and a half in circumference, and that the smallest blocks of masonry are five feet by four in depth and breadth, that there are obelisks of eighty feet high on a base of eighteen feet, of one block of granite; it can be easily imagined that Thebes was the vast city history describes it to be. A panoramic sketch which I made of the great temple, gives some slight idea of its extent. My attention was arrested, in the precincts of one of the courts of this temple, by an ancient reservoir, which, either from accidental or natural circumstances, contained a watery fluid of a thick reddish colour, of a briny taste, sending forth a stench that impregnated the air to the leeward for at least half a mile off, and when approached was almost insupportable: had it existed in the winter months, the time when former travellers have generally visited Egypt, it would have doubtless attracted their attention. It was now the latter end of June, the hottest season of the year, and the above-mentioned effluvia may have arisen from stagnant water, impregnated with the nitre which every where enters into the composition of the sandy soils of Egypt.

The greatest part of the ground on the west bank of the Nile, where are the Memnonium, its statues, the ruins at

Medinat Aboo, and Goornoo, and the ancient tombs, is left uncultivated. The Arab village of Medinat Aboo is abandoned. The Troglodites of Goornoo still inhabit the empty caverns; and I could not find in what manner they derived their subsistence. Some spots of thicket in the plains contain the sount, a species of thorn, which employed a few of them in cutting it into faggots. Formerly the caverns were the haunts of the robbers who infested the Nile, and were driven from their holds by the French; who, after in vain attempting to dislodge them in common pursuit, were, (as related by Denon,) obliged to use fumigation, which, after the entrances of the caverns that were connected with each other were stopped up, compelled the people who had taken refuge to surrender. They have since been kept in order by Ibrahim Pasha, whose summary mode of punishment, accompanied even with torture, has had great effect in putting a stop to their piracies on the Nile; though I was very nearly undergoing the mortification of losing my papers and sketches, which were next at hand to many other things taken away unperceived, during the night of the 17th of June, from my boat, when moored near Luxor: luckily, I heard a rustling, which I supposed to be that of rats; and made a noise to drive them from my bed, the usual passage of these animals, which caused the robbers to decamp. I found out my loss as soon as day-light appeared, and thought

myself fortunate in escaping so well; as it is not at all an uncommon thing for a boat to be completely emptied of its valuables, by the dexterity of the Nile pirates, in the course of a night, even when the boatmen are on board. When I applied to the caimacan of the village to assist me to recover my loss, he seized on two unfortunate peasants, formerly suspected of theft; and, unknown to me, put them into heavy irons, and gave them the bastinado on the soles of the feet, to induce them to confess themselves guilty. After in vain offering a reward and promise of pardon, to give some information relative to my loss, I obtained their release. A word from me would have sent them to Siout, where they would most likely have been executed.

The state of subjection to which the peasants of Egypt are reduced, even at this distance from Cairo, may be conceived, when it is known that in none of the villages is there more than one Turk who acts as caimacan, or lieutenant to the cashief of the district. He rules with absolute sway, imprisons, bastinadoes, and casts into irons at pleasure; though the punishment of death is left to the award of the Pasha or his minister.

The chief mode of subsistence of the Troglodites of Goornoo seemed from the pillage of the tombs, of which they daily discover new ones; whence, the dead bodies being taken, they are broken up, and the resinous substance found

in the inside of the mummy forms a considerable article of trade with Cairo.

I crept with difficulty through a small opening into a new found tomb, where I traversed, crawling sometimes on my hands and knees, and sometimes upright on my legs, thousands of dead bodies lying in regular horizontal layers side by side; these were of course the mummies of the lower order of people, being only covered with simple teguments, and smeared over with a composition that preserved the muscles from corruption. The suffocating smell, and the natural horror excited by being left alone unarmed with the wild villagers in this charnel house, made me content myself with visiting two or three chambers, and quickly return to the open air. Many curious mummies of human beings, and other animals in high preservation, were offered me for sale. I bought one of the most valuable, a male. It was wrapped in linen of a yellowish colour, no part of the body being exposed; of the usual tapering shape of mummies; the linen quite perfect, as if just from the hands of the artist. The Egyptian character was traced in a border that passed through the centre, lengthways of the folds, from the head to the feet; and a tressellated ornament of the palm-leaf lay loose on the surface, placed, as may be supposed, for the same purpose as flowers on our modern corpses. This mummy was laid in a large chest of sycamore, which was without a



Engraved by H. L. G.

Engraved by W. Smith

CAT. OF MOUNTAIN & HILL-TOWN, DOWN AT THREE

blemish, and the upper surface of the lid contained a rich profusion of coloured hieroglyphics. I was happy in being able to present my purchase to Colonel Misset.

The vast blocks still remaining of the statues of Memnon and his queen, thrown down, according to Herodotus, by the first Cambyses, are calculated to raise the traveller's idea of the magnitude of all the works undertaken by the ancient Egyptians. The head of the female, described by Denon in such high terms, and by Mr. Hamilton, might be easily taken away: it would be a rich specimen of the sculpture of Egypt, and is worthy of the attention of the British government; and being the only remaining mass that is still preserved unblemished, I felt a wish to remove it, as well as the foot of Memnon, but the expense deterred me*. There would have been no difficulty, for the inhabitants were well disposed to assist me in any thing I wished to do, with the promise of reward.

My visit to the tombs of the kings, which are nearly two miles from the other antiquities, was made in the heat of the day. I was happy to take shelter in the passage to one of them, where I found half a mummy, that had been strip-

* I understand this head has been removed by Mr. Salt, and is on its way home.

ped of its covering, and appeared to have been found there. The prospect of getting a royal mummy made me search for others; and I employed some of the peasants in clearing away the ruins from the chamber near which it was found, but to no purpose. The teeth of the last mentioned mummy were very regular, perfectly white, and part of the hair of the head remaining.

Denon has given an interesting description of the approach to the tombs of the kings. After continuing for half an hour in a long winding valley, the traveller at last arrives unexpectedly at a chasm, where the rock seems to have been divided by art, leaving a passage, not level with the ground, of four or five feet, through which he enters into a wide amphitheatre of rocks, in the sides of which are the entrances to the tombs: some are covered; others just show the cornice; others again are open, and present the whole front, which is generally of plain masonry, of about six feet wide and high.

The difficulty with which researches have been always made in Egypt, has confined the drawings taken by travellers, and even the scavans of the French army, to mere objects of antiquity; whereas their situation and corresponding scenery are often very interesting, and well worth being presented to public view. The ruins of Dendyra, so often described, so accurately drawn by the French scavans and



Engraved by H. S. Galt

VIEW IN THE PLAIN OF DENDRYA

Engraved by Shepherd

the late captain Hayes of the engineers, who accompanied Mr. Hamilton, are in a plain near the foot of a part of the Mokattam, which rises boldly behind them, and is so singularly broken into masses, that I was surprised they had never formed part of the picture in which the portico is represented. It was here, as I have observed in my preface, that our sepoy, in their march from Keenah to join the army of Lord Hutchinson, imagined they had found their own temples, and were very angry with the Egyptians for their neglect of their deities. I have understood from English officers who accompanied the Indian army, that the sepoy performed their devotions in these temples with all the ceremonies practised in India. This event affords a strong proof of that connexion in remote antiquity which the researches of the late Sir William Jones's society at Calcutta have led the learned there to believe between Egypt and India. I cannot help again remarking, that an inquiry into this connexion might serve to explain many obscure points of ancient history, now wholly lost in fables, and would be worthy the attention of those who favour the pursuits of literature and the arts; and that a traveller in Egypt, capable of comparing his remarks there with what he would find in British India, might accomplish this great and desirable task.

I left Dendyra with regret on the 29th of June, and having stopped at the other remains of Egyptian architecture

on the banks of the river as I proceeded downwards, I arrived at Bardish on the 18th of July, where I prepared for visiting the pyramids of Sacarra. I found there was some apprehension from the Arabs of the desert, who were inclined to take advantage of the Pasha's absence, to wage war against the Egyptians. I, however, put myself into the hands of one of the Arab chiefs who still preserved his obedience, and set out for the plains in which the pyramids are situated. I confess I felt some repugnance to descend with my conductor into the chamber of the one that is open, knowing the state in which the Arabs were. However, as I had often before risked much to gratify curiosity, I confided in the Arab's faith, stripped myself to the waist in my shirt, bound a handkerchief round my head, and having left my servant at the entrance with his musquet, I slid down the shaft which leads to the chambers, accompanied by the Arab and one of my boatmen, all three having a lighted taper in our hands. The entrance was so narrow, that I was obliged to lie flat on my face, and work myself through the sand and dirt which blocked up the passage to the chamber. Having got through, I was gratified by finding myself in a lofty apartment, of a wedge-like form, meeting at the top almost in a point: it was faced with stones which had a high polish, but whose substance I could not distinguish, being quite black with age. These stones were eighteen feet in length

and three or four in breadth, joined without cement, yet so closely united as not to admit the point of a penknife in their interstices. They were in projecting layers from the summit, the uppermost overhanging in succession those below them, which retired with the angle of inclination of the sides of the chamber. At the south side, even with the ground, was another opening, leading to a second chamber, similar to that I have described; and, according to the account given by Mr. Davison, in the memoirs relative to Turkey*, published by Mr. Walpole, there is a third chamber. I was prevented from further research, and hurried from my observations by hearing the report of a musquet at the mouth of the shaft. My first sensations were of course not very agreeable, as I imagined my servant had been attacked; but I found, on ascending, that my alarm had been needless, and that he had fired at a hyena, which, though wounded, had made its escape.

From these pyramids I went to the village of Metrahenny, and descended to Boolac on the 19th of July, when I again became an inmate in Colonel Misset's house. I found that the plague had raged in this part of Egypt with great violence during my absence, which had obliged him to cut

* P. 359.

off all communication between his house and the exterior : that in Cairo the inhabitants had died at the rate of two hundred a day ; and that it continued raging for two months, when the increasing heat of the weather had stopped its progress. The effect of heat on this disorder is evident from its rarely spreading into Upper Egypt as far as Siout. The Pasha's son Ibrahim had taken more than ordinary precaution to prevent the chance of its progress at his government, by ordering his physician to inspect the sick, and even dead bodies before their funeral, in order to be on his guard against it if it should find its way there.

At Cairo there had been some scruples on the part of the sheiks of the religion with regard to encouraging common precautions, which the Kaya Bey had recommended. The Koran was, however, consulted, and the necessary construction put to a part of it which related to disease. The way in which the plague was prevented from making its way into the harem of the Pasha, corresponds with the idea generally held of Turkish government, where the interests of the chief and the people are opposed. It was as follows.

As soon as the plague had begun to rage at Cairo, the harem of the Pasha was removed to a village in the neighbourhood of Gizeh, where he has a palace ; but as the inhabitants of the village had communication with Cairo, they were driven away, obliged to seek habitations where

they could, and no provision made for their subsistence. The consequence of such oppression may be easily conceived.

The Kāmseen winds, which had been prevalent in my voyage up the Nile, had been succeeded, as usual, by the north winds in my descent, often with such violence as to prevent the possibility of continuing my course, and produced the sickness felt at sea to some of my boat's crew.

At Thebes, about the 20th of June, the same time mentioned by Denon, I observed the beginning of the inundation, with the same preceding symptoms, a stillness of water, and its change to a muddy white colour. By the time I arrived at Boolac it was much increased; its daily rise was announced by the public criers*; and on the 12th of August I was witness to the ceremony of cutting the dyke of the canal conveying the waters of the Nile to Cairo. I formed one of a party, consisting of Colonel Misset's secretary and his wife, and Mr. Buckingham, whose name I have before mentioned. We hired a cangia, and left Boolac before daylight, amongst crowds of boats. Each boat had a light; and

* Benjamin of Tudela mentions in his time, that the Nilometer was measured every day during the inundation by a man, who then cried to the inhabitants of Misraim and Tsohan, "Thank God! for the river has risen to such and such a height." These words are still used. He travelled in the 12th century.

the shores of the Nile near the mouth of the canal were lined with people, and illuminated with the lamp I have described in the preceding part of the work. Our boatmen kept time to their oars with songs, not particularly modest.

As soon as it was day-light Mr. B. and myself landed: we found a tent pitched for the Kaya Bey and his suite on the left of the canal, which takes its rise near the aqueduct. All the disposable troops were under arms, to overawe the populace that were assembled in immense crowds; the cavalry ranged in rear, the infantry in front.

When the Kaya Bey and his suite appeared, the workmen stationed at the dyke of the canal began to destroy it. In the mean time, the canal was filled with males of all ages, scrambling for the money thrown to them by the Kaya Bey and his officers, who kept them occupied in this way till the waters of the Nile were ready to break down the dyke, which at last was overpowered, and they rushed in with a force that carried every thing before them. In a moment the crowd was washed away, with a velocity that excited horror and anxiety for the thousands that were in one instant floating and swimming with the stream, and carried out of sight. What lives were lost I could not learn; and not the least interest was taken in their fate: whether they escaped or drowned was perfectly indifferent to the lookers on.

I have read in some traveller that a human effigy was thrown into the canal, at the time the waters of the Nile flowed in, a substitute for the human victim mentioned by Herodotus; but, for the story of the former offering, there is no foundation. Indeed, the numerous votaries to the waters of the Nile, appear to be a sufficient immolation to them. It is moreover an invariable custom of all mothers to bring the children, that have been born since the inundation of the former year, to the canal, and wash them in the newly-arrived waters; in which also the populace of Cairo take the earliest opportunity of purifying themselves.

I had delayed my departure from Egypt till after the cutting of the dyke, that I might employ the interval in taking a general view of Cairo from the heights of the Mokattam, on the east of the Nile. I signified my desire to do so to the Kaya Bey, and begged permission to reside in the newly-erected fort*: this was granted, and a tent pitched for me on the spot I fixed on for taking my view. I remained there six days, and completed my undertaking. In this time I had a visit from the Kaya Bey in form, and it was considered a mark of great honour; though its object was to

* See chapter on military defences of Egypt and Syria, in part ii.

see my drawing; which, after twisting and turning about, he returned to me in despair, not being able to understand it.

A visit to the pyramids of Gizeh was of course one of my excursions from Boolac; and having seen them, I prepared for my journey to Holy Land.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

T R A V E L S
IN
EGYPT, NUBIA, HOLY LAND,
MOUNT LIBANON,
AND
C Y P R U S.

PART THE SECOND.



THE HOUSE AT ACHI

CHAPTER I.

From Boolac to Damietta—Insult offered to the British vice-consul, and atonement by the Aga—State of Damietta—Delay at the mouth of the Nile—Passage of the Boghaz—Passengers on board a rice vessel—Appearance of Jaffa—Interview with the Aga—Palliated account of the massacre of Turkish prisoners by Buonaparte.

HAVING made arrangements for proceeding to Damietta, I took leave of Colonel Misset; and, in the evening of the 15th of August, I began to descend the Nile in a small caiash or barge. The height of the inundation rendered the stream excessively rapid, my boat was carried down, and

whirled round with a velocity almost to excite apprehension of danger; and was with difficulty steered by the rais, who however was encouraged, by the brightness of the moon, to continue during the night; and I found myself, in the morning, far below the union of the two branches of the Nile which form the Delta. The appearance of the inundation was terrific; one universal deluge seemed to cover the country. The distant minarets of the villages just evinced that all was not overflowed. The roar of the waters caused a sort of horror. The stream appeared to carry desolation with it; and I could hardly allow myself to fancy that art could set bounds to such an inundation as that which I saw around me.

Below Mansoorah, which I passed on the 17th, the canals were more widely separated; tracts of rice ground appeared above the waters, were intermixed with willow and sycamore trees, and had an agreeable aspect; but the swarms of mosquitoes that, for the first time, had attacked me, and were generated in greater numbers amongst the rice grounds than elsewhere, almost prevented me from enjoying what I saw. After continuing with the stream during the night, in the same swift descent as before, I arrived very early in the morning of the 18th at Damietta, and proceeded to the abode of the vice-consul, who had been previously informed of my intended departure from Boolac. He inhabited part of a large okellah, that formed the dwelling of many other

Levantines. As this, in which I entered, will give some idea of the mode of life amongst this class of people in the East, I shall describe it. On entering the gateway, which was almost blocked up by piles of goods, a small door on the right hand side opened to a dirty stone flight of steps, which I ascended, and found myself at the end of a long narrow dark passage, on one side of which were doors opening to the apartments of different inhabitants of the okellah. At the extreme end of the passage, the English arms, barely distinguishable in the gloom, showed me I had attained my destination; a respectable looking Greek servant opened the door, and I was ushered into a large saloon, one end of which was elevated above the rest, and fitted up with ottomans; the remainder with projecting benches for common visitors, who seat themselves without ceremony in the presence of all, excepting their immediate superior. The vice-consul was not up; I waited for some time, and was enabled to contemplate the other ornaments of the room. These consisted of two old Trieste chandeliers, suspended from the ceiling, and covered with dust; three or four shabby looking glasses, in gilt frames, placed on the walls that were once white-washed; and two drawings of ships in water colours, such as would be drawn by a school-boy, were fixed on the walls of the room with wafers. The flooring was of stone, that seemed never to have been scoured.

The vice-consul, a native of Damietta, about twenty years old, who had succeeded to the appointment on the death of his father, a few days before my arrival, soon made his appearance in the costume of the country; which, in consideration of the scarlet coat, epaulet, and sword worn by the English vice-consuls in the East, he was about to abandon. I was the second Englishman he had received since his appointment, and he was anxious to impress me with an idea of his importance, and that the English were treated with more respect than any other nation, from his influence; which, however, I was inclined to think arose from a far more weighty reason; the firmness which the British consul-general Misset had always shown in his conduct to the Turkish rulers; an instance of which I shall here give. Some time ago a contribution had been levied on the inhabitants of Damietta, and the aga wished to subject the British vice-consul of that day to it, who being a native of Egypt, he supposed was not exempt. The vice-consul, however, pleaded his prerogative, which was not allowed; and the aga proceeding to extremities, was about to inflict a corporal punishment on him, the usual way of extorting payment when refused. This, however, by the interposition of friends, who agreed to pay what the aga demanded, did not take place. A complaint being made to Colonel Misset, he ordered the British flag to be struck at Damietta, and de-

manded instant satisfaction of the Pasha, who wanted to compromise the matter: but this, however, was not allowed; a public insult required a public satisfaction, which at last was made in the following way: the aga was to ask pardon of the vice-consul, in the presence of the other vice-consuls at Damietta; was to pay back the sum levied from the vice-consul's friends; and to fire a salute in front of his house when the British flag was again hoisted.

After the first ceremonies of welcome had taken place, the usual refreshment of pipes and coffee was introduced, and the room soon filled with Turks, Arabs, Christians, and Jews. An interpreter, dignified by the name of Cancelliere of the Consulate, was the only man in the European dress except myself. It was evident that the company present were courting the favour of their host, who had been left possessed of considerable wealth by his father, and was inclined to diffuse it.

A European is always an object of curiosity to the inhabitants of Eastern countries; and it requires some philosophy to bear the variety of silly questions that are put, and remarks that are made. I was glad to retire to my apartment, which was comfortable. This, like most others in the East used for sleeping, was raised at each end about half a foot above the floor, leaving a passage sunk in the same degree from the door to the opposite side of the room of

four or five feet broad. The raised parts were covered with mats, on which were placed the mattresses of the family; who, however, during my stay abandoned the apartment entirely to me.

At twelve o'clock I was summoned to dinner, consisting chiefly of fish, dressed in various ways. It was the fast of Maria, to last fifteen days, during which the Maronite Christians rigorously abstained from flesh; though my host affected to be above this prejudice, and joined with me in eating the meat dressed on my account.

Our company at table (for we had a table—perhaps the only one at Damietta) was the chancellor, and a Greek, whom I at first had taken for a servant. The table was served by the mother of the host, assisted by Greek servants; and was cooked by the female servants of the family, over whom she presided. We adjourned after dinner to the saloon for coffee, when a fresh set of visitors arrived to pay their respects to the master of the house, who seemed to lord it over his neighbours with much consciousness of his superior situation. I retired to my room till the heat of the day was passed, when I rode with the vice-consul through the town to the country adjoining it. The palm was here varied with the sycamore or wild fig-tree, which grew with some luxuriance, and gave a relief to the uniform foliage of the former tree. I was surprised at the population of Damietta; it was

with difficulty we were able to pass through its narrow streets. The description of one town in the Delta and its opposite banks answers for all: houses of burnt or unburnt bricks; projecting casements that obscure the light, and seem incapable, from their being of wood pierced with holes, of admitting it; small shops in the different bazars, in which a single man sits cross-legged on a board dealing out his wares to the customers; narrow streets; and offensive smells.

The manners of the East with regard to bazars seem to be unvaried. From Tangiers and Tetuan through the whole of the Levant, and, I believe, throughout Asia, there is but one style of shop and one mode of supply. Sometimes the hoarse voice of a pedler, carrying a skein of silk or trifling article, making his way through the crowd with hurried strides, attracts the passenger; when, if the price asked is agreed on, the former stops; if not, he continues, without seeming to notice those who address him.

The gardens are of the same neglected kind as in other parts of Egypt: they are generally enclosed with reeds, espaliers, and brush-wood, within which are plantations of palm and orange-trees. The rice-grounds are numerous, and irrigated with water-wheels. The inhabitants of the town and fellahs of the country, being more immediately under the oppression of the Turkish chiefs, seem

to have less energy than those in Upper Egypt. The inhabitants of Damietta are considered more hostile to the Franks than in any other part of Egypt; perhaps tradition may have handed down the invasion and defeat of St. Louis in that neighbourhood; and the cause of dislike, forgotten in the present day, has left the effect in the disposition of the people.

On the evening of my arrival, after supper, which is invariably at eight o'clock with the Levantines, and equally abundant as the dinner, I was attended by the vice-consul to the divan of the aga, to whom I had previously announced my intention of visiting him. This was held at the custom-house; and it being the time of the Ramazan, business was transacted only at night. The aga was sitting at one corner of a matted room, raised above the rest by cushions; he was surrounded by Turks and Arabs: the doors were guarded by eight or ten Albanians: the whole in mute attention to the guitar of a Turk, who accompanied it with his voice; which, though more harmonious than I had usually heard in the East, was spoiled by the performer increasing its loudness beyond his powers. He sung a love ditty; and the aga seemed to be in ecstasy, taking little notice of me till the music had ceased. After pipes and coffee were produced, he inquired of me respecting my rank, pay, and reason for travelling; and expressed surprise that the English

had such pleasure in undergoing fatigue and danger to gratify their passion for travel.

During my stay at Damietta I rode to the lake Mensaleh, which supplies a vast quantity of fish, and employs many fishermen. A great deal that is caught is salted, and forms an article of trade to Syria. I regretted I had not time to visit the remains of antiquity contained in several of the islands in the lake, which, however, only prove the ancient existence of considerable towns.

Damietta has little worthy of notice but its magazines of rice, which are large; those belonging to the Pasha would do credit to any European government. They are in an extensive oblong building, with a wooden colonnade along the front of the lower story; this is divided into a variety of apartments, in some of which the rice undergoes its processes of refinement.

Previous to being used it requires three operations. It is first placed in heaps under a number of wooden levers, at the end of which are hollow tin canisters, with the hollow downwards, of six or eight inches long and about three in diameter. The levers are raised by a wheel moved by two oxen, and strike the canisters into the rice, which is received into them, and is thus beaten without being bruised; the husks are shaken off, and after the third operation the rice becomes white and fit for use, though a little reduced. One

of these machines with four rammers, worked by two oxen, ought to purify forty ardebs* in a month.

In one of my rides about the country, I entered into conversation with an Arab peasant of about twenty years of age, whom at first I had terribly alarmed by sketching him while he was sitting on a water-wheel, which he supposed was an act of enchantment to his future misfortune. It was the Ramazan. I had been eating a morsel of bread, and offered him part, by way of encouraging his confidence. He dared not accept it. "Have you no fast?" said he to me. "We have; but not so strict as yours." "Are you beaten if you do not keep it?" "No." "Then I wish I were in your country; for were I not to fast, the cadî would beat me to death." This remark of his needs no comment.

On the 21st I was able to find a rice-vessel about to sail for Jaffa; and accordingly left Damietta, without any regret, in a small boat, and descended about ten or twelve miles towards the mouth of the Nile, where the rice-boat lay. In my descent I was witness to the rigorous observance of the Ramazan by my boatman, who, though an old man, and almost fainting from thirst and want of food, would not take refreshment till the sun had gone down, of which he was not

* Each ardeb about fourteen and a half English bushels.

satisfied, till he had stood up in the boat, and cast his eyes to the west. To the unfortunate labourer this fast is terrible ; many deaths are occasioned by it : to the rich man, however, it is nothing ; he sleeps away the day, revels during the night, and thus may laugh at his prophet.

It was late when I arrived at the vessel that was to take me to Jaffa. There was no preparation, as I had been led to expect. The rice bags were piled up in uneven heaps ; my presence excited great surprise, and some alarm to a number of passengers, who were leaving Egypt from necessity or from business. Amongst the former was a sheik of the religion, whose revenues were much curtailed by the new regulations of the Pasha ; and, therefore, many of its priests were induced to seek a livelihood by emigration. The sheik, or imam, above mentioned, had his family, consisting of his wife, two young children, one of eight years old, the other at the breast ; an old female servant, and the wife's brother. He seemed to neglect them all : employed in counting his beads he paid little attention to what was passing, and evinced no anxiety about departure. He was quiet, which to him was luxury ; and, I believe, had not my provisions been at hand to supply the wants of his family, they would have starved : there was no ceremony used in asking for any thing they wanted ; I had sufficient to be bountiful. "Taweel omrek," "Long life to you," was ample recompence.

After a comfortless night, I found the vessel in the morning on the Delta side of the Nile, opposite the Esbieh, a village containing the custom-house, near the fort*. The country, on the Delta side, was desert; and this, as I have understood, crosses the whole of the bottom part of the Delta for some distance above where our vessel lay. The Syrian side of the Nile was marsh: I had the ill fortune to remain for several days in this part of Egypt, from the state of the wind, which, blowing from the north-west, endangered the passage of the Boghaz. Unable to go to any distance from the vessel for fear of a change, I had little to excite my curiosity.

I remained on the Delta side of the Nile, and confined myself to the sea shore, which was washed by a dangerous surf, and covered with shells, some of them handsome spirals, others of the scollop kind; numerous land crabs burrowed in the sand, and astonished me by their rapidity.

The course of the Nile is observable for a considerable distance into the sea; the surf was repelled, and the sea appeared divided from the river by a gentle ripple. The water of the sea was colored for some distance by the muddy stream, which was salt only at the mouth.

* See Chapter VIII.

Three days at the entrance of the Nile, exposed without covering to the burning sun of the day and the cold dews of the night, tried my patience. The Boghaz was still impassable; the rais was, however, anxious to proceed on his voyage, and determined to lighten his vessel. The rice bags were unshipped, put into smaller jerns, and preparations made to risk the passage; and a custom-house officer, attended by a Turkish soldier, came to examine our effects and passports. Here I found some difficulty in persuading the soldier, that the Pasha's firman superseded the necessity of a pass from the aga of Damietta. I threatened without avail, and was obliged to leave my boat and cross the river to the Turkish commandant, whom I found more tractable.

The following day, the 24th, the pilot of the Boghaz proclaimed it passable. Our lighters proceeded first; passengers of all kinds presented themselves. I was interested by the appearance of two, who, in the character of Dervishes, were differently clothed from any I had seen. They had a cloak of camels' hair thrown over their shoulders, and tied in front on their breast; were naked, except at the waist, round which was a girdle of skin; their hair flowed loose round their ears, and they supported themselves with a staff: there was a wildness and savageness in their looks, that savoured more of barbarian than saint; and

I was happy to find they could not agree with the rais for their passage, and were obliged to disembark in spite of their holy profession.

There appeared a general dread of the passage of the Boghaz, which was barely to be observed as a ridge of sand at about two or three hundred yards from the mouth of the river: an exclamation of "Ullah kerawm," "Praised be God!" testified all was safe. The lighters unloaded, the passengers were embarked, we paid our bucksheesh to the pilot of the Boghaz; and having arranged ourselves as well as we could, the course was steered for Jaffa.

The master of the vessel, wishing to make me comfortable, hoisted in the boat, in which he put a mat, and suspended another to shelter me from the sun. I was the emir of the party, and in that capacity was envied and honoured by the numerous passengers on board: each formed his groupe. There were Jews from Rhodes bound to Jerusalem; Kurds who had been disappointed at Cairo from entering the service of the Pasha; Turkish imams, who had sought their fortunes without success at the same place, and were returning to Constantinople; a Coptish priest, blind, going to the holy city, in the hopes of maintenance; Moors and Arabs—such a motley party would have been amusing at any time. The scene that ensued enabled me to pass the day without much ennui: prayers, sickness, abuse, quarrels for places,

and curses on the master of the vessel for its motion, were by turns the employment of the passengers.

The Turkish imams prayed, played with each other, and swore they would not fast: they excused themselves to me by producing the law of the prophet, which enabled travellers to do as they like; and, for this reason, applied to me for wine. The Arab sheik was the only one who abandoned himself to his fate: he laid on his back, prayed, counted his beads, and left his family to shift for themselves. To the honour of the Copt, they were not neglected; the poor mother was dreadfully sick, the rest of her family equally unable to assist her or her infant—he performed the duty of a nurse, and attended, as well as he could, to the wants of all. I wished him to share my provisions, but it was a season of fasting, and he accepted nothing but my coffee. In return, he repeated to me several prayers in the Coptish language, which is still used in their church service, and for no other purpose.

In spite of the short distance between Jaffa and Damietta, we had not got sight of the land on the following day—my boat did not preserve me from the vermin which infested the vessel. The fifth night I had been on board could not accustom me to them; it was passed almost sleepless: the noise of the day was succeeded by a dead calm; but the air was agreeably cool, and there was a bright moon.

On the following morning, the 26th, the vessel was in sight of the land of Sham, the name given to Syria by the people of the East. It presented, at first, a long strip of low ground, behind which higher land was discernible. The horizon was hazy, and the exact point of Jaffa was not to be discovered. The rais had no compass; he was making for Acri, when he found out his error, after some loss of time. At the mistake, the rage of the Turks was excited. The Kurds blasphemed his race, curled their mustachios, and put their hands to their sabres; but our near approach to our destination pacified them. The shore appeared interspersed with sand and trees; on drawing nearer, cliff was seen, and Jaffa as a projecting rock of some extent, with bold precipices. Its features soon were distinguished. The walls, batteries, towers, and houses, rising one above the other, presented a singular view, which even attracted the admiration of my fellow-passengers; and the formidable rocks, in front of the south end, threatened the vessel with destruction.

Between the rocks and the town, small vessels anchor, and are secure; the large ones about a mile from the shore; of the former, there were seven or eight; of the latter, only two. On arriving at the port, a large custom-house boat came alongside our vessel, and not a moment was lost in unloading; my baggage was tumbled in, myself, servants, Imams, Jews, Turks, sailors, and rice bags, the work of a

moment : I never saw any disembarkation more expeditiously performed.

On landing, I collected my baggage, placed my servant sentry over it, and sent a Greek servant I had hired at Damietta, at the recommendation of the vice-consul there, with my letters to the Hospitium and vice-consul of Jaffa ; and finding he did not speedily return, set out in search of him ; having passed the aga and his attendants, whose quality I did not know, who looked with some surprise at my appearance, and made anxious inquiries whether I was hakeem, or merchant. Having arrived at the vice-consul's house, I was shown through some narrow passages and dirty courts, in which were groupes of Jews and Jewesses, on their way to Jerusalem. The dirt, noise, and appearance of the place, made me think I could hardly find lodging ; and imagining that my letter to the Hospitium would ensure me a reception, I begged to be shown there. On my way, I met the vice-consul, and was amused by his mixture of European and Eastern dress. He was an old man, of about sixty-five years of age, with a European countenance ; wore a three-cornered hat, with gold lace button-hole ; his hair tied in a long plaited tail behind. The rest of his dress was Eastern. He welcomed me in French, and, in an open way, offered me his house, and seemed rather hurt at my desiring to go to the Hospitium ; where, on my arrival, the superior evinced

surprise at seeing me—he had not room for me—had just turned off the cook—I should be much better off at the vice-consul's, where all travellers went.—With this reception I was quite happy to find I was still pressed by the son of the vice-consul, in the name of his father, to return to his house. On my return there, after passing through the same groupes of Jews I had before seen, I ascended a narrow staircase to a terrace, which was also covered with Jews and their families, and was shown into a small comfortable apartment leading from the terrace; airy, overlooking the sea, and was tolerably clean. The furniture had been once good, but now in tatters. The ceiling was partly arched into a dome, and part with a Gothic drop. The British arms, in one part of the room, showed the owner was in the service of England; and a swallow's nest in the dome, that he was kind and gentle-hearted.

The vice-consul was happy to receive me; he said he had offered me his house, because he knew I should not be well received at the Hospitium. His manner, blunt and simple. He had been in France in former days, had suffered much from the French, and afterwards from the Turks; that, in spite of a firman of protection from Constantinople, he was daily exposed to the oppression and rapacity of the aga.

A summons from the aga called us away. The Grand Signor's firman was carried in state by the consul's servant;

and, as I understood the aga would be anxious to hear the news from Europe, I mentioned all that was known of the downfall of Buonaparte.

The divan of the aga was adjoining a dungeon, and on the same floor; on passing which I was distressed by seeing a scene of misery not uncommon in this country: a great many prisoners had been made by the Pasha of Damascus, after a successful attack on some villages which had refused to pay the miri. They had been divided amongst the different governments as trophies, and these were in heavy chains. The dungeon, which was small, was crowded; there was no air but from the door, which being open, enabled me to observe them: the stench from them was suffocating: they were guarded by Albanians. Fear or resignation prevented the unfortunate sufferers from uttering a moan of complaint.

On entering the divan, I found the aga squatted on a part of the room separated from the rest by a railing; an imam on his right and other attending officers about him. I was seated on a low stool outside. The vice-consul was allowed to approach the railing, and seat himself on the same cushion with the aga, whose name was Mahommed. He saluted me with, "Mohabbetek," "your friend," in a gruff voice; and proceeded at once to make inquiries respecting the affairs of Europe. He expressed his fears there would

still be a continuation of war in the East, from men equally ambitious as Buonaparte, who would be as desirous as he was for conquest. I was struck with his allusion, "that dogs must quarrel; and having worried one till they had driven him away, turned on some other." He appeared fearful that the Turks, particularly those of Syria, would now suffer. My firman was read; was found good: coffee was presented twice to me. The hour of prayer arrived: the aga rose: he left me without speaking, and was preceded by men bearing flambeaux. The vice-consul and myself returned home. The want of sumptuous fare and cleanliness was compensated for by the kindness of my host and his son. Here it may be as well to observe, that the dirt and filth of Eastern meals and houses are so disgusting, that a traveller who cannot at once reconcile himself to them will constantly repent having undertaken a visit to the East.

The following day, the 27th, was Saturday; when the Jews assembled to prayers on the terrace near my room. The women were sent below; preparations were made for their departure for Jerusalem, for the feast of the new year; at which time Jews come from all parts of the world. The way in which the women and old men are carried to Jerusalem is singular; a wicker basket with seats, is attached to each side of a mule, and the travellers arranged in pairs. I have seen four persons on one mule.

The vice-consul's son accompanied me through the town : this has been enlarged and improved by the present aga, who had been placed in his command by Djezzar Pasha, of whom he had been a favourite officer, and whom he called his father. The land gate was highly ornamented with carved work of the Saracenic pattern : several new bazars, in the form of squares, had been built by the present aga for cottons and woollens ; the other bazars, and the remainder of the town, like all others I had seen in the East, bore marks of misery ; but from the buildings being of stone, the town had not so mean an appearance as those in Egypt. There were about five thousand inhabitants, and amongst these, many Christians, of various sects.

Of course I was anxious to hear an account of Buonaparte's massacre. It was told differently from that given by Sir Robert Wilson ; and thus by the vice-consul, who was at Jaffa at the time it was stormed by the French. After the town was taken possession of, and all was supposed secure, it was discovered that a large body of armed Muggrebins had concealed themselves in the cellars of the town, intending to sally out on the French when unprepared ; and in consequence, they were surrounded by the French army, secured, taken outside the town to the south-west, and there put to death, on the same spot where the cruel Mahommed Abou Dhab, successor to the renowned Mamelouk chief Ali, in the

latter end of the last century, made his pile of heads from the slaughtered inhabitants, and which still goes by the name of the Hill of Heads*: this, by a singular neglect, or perhaps superstitious reverence on the part of the Turks, is left still to command part of the works, and will most likely be the place where the first breaching battery will be erected.

In the course of the day I walked to some gardens in the neighbourhood, on the road to Ramla; into one of which, belonging to the vice-consul, I entered. They were all at the mercy of the aga, who regularly every year seized on some of the ground belonging to the inhabitants, and made them pay him a ransom to prevent his using it for himself. The gardens are laid out without regularity; contain a vast quantity of oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, apple and pear-trees, with vines of black and white grapes; added to these are peach-trees and melons: the latter form an article of exportation to the Delta, and are esteemed the best in Syria. One fourth of the produce goes to the gardener, who is supplied with labourers to weed and work the ground by the owner, by whom also all damages are repaired, horses and oxen are found, and water-wheels erected for irrigation.

* Volney, p. 140, vol. i. English translation, refers to Baron Tott's Memoirs relative to this.



PART OF MOUNT LIBANON NEAR BEIRUT

CHAPTER II.

From Jaffa to Ramla and Jerusalem—Mode of travelling—Dress of Muleteers—

Country between Ramla and Jerusalem—Convent at Ramla—Interesting scene from terrace of convent—Mountains leading to Jerusalem—Arabs commanding the passes at St. Jeremiah—Arrival at Jerusalem—View from the terrace of convent—Holy places—Interview with the aga—Insult offered by the imams of the holy sepulchre—Syrian prisoners in castle.

As I went to Jerusalem without escort from the aga, it was necessary to employ the muleteers of the convent; who, by paying a caphar or toll to the Arabs of the mountains, ensured the safety of their company; and accordingly I was

provided with three mules for myself and servants, and an ass for my baggage. I left Jaffa on the 28th, in the afternoon, and set out for Ramla.

The dress of the muleteers, who are called Mocarris, is worth describing, and seems peculiar to that class of people. The turban is of coarse red or white linen, with the end of fringe, hanging out on the left side behind: the sharweel, or breeches, is large, descending to the knees, of green cloth, with a waistcoat of the same colour; over which is a brown frock without seam, of sackcloth, striped with black, variegated behind at the shoulders with a mixture of black, yellow, and red colours arranged in a triangle, the point of which is half way down the back. The one who attended me was a handsome well-made lad of nineteen years old, very attentive and civil.

Ramla* is considered three hours distant from Jaffa, and is the halting place for travellers to Jerusalem. Between the first two places the country is open and well cultivated†, and the land excessively rich and fertile: the peasantry,

* According to Pococke, Ramla is the Arimathea of Joseph.

† The summer crops of the Syrians are sown in March and April, and consist of sesamum, durra, tobacco, cotton, beans, and water-melons. The winter crop of wheat and barley is sown in October. Volney, p. 801, vol. i. English translation.

strong healthy looking men, generally dressed in a loose white frock and turban: they wear their beards, and have a dark complexion; a leathern girdle, about four inches broad, confines their frock at the waist, and contains a long Albanian knife. They were uniformly courteous, and willingly replied to my questions.

There are three villages on the road to Ramla, which are not poorer in their appearance than many I have seen in Sicily and the south of Italy: near them more pains had been taken with the cultivation. The chief trees were olive. Various villages appeared in the chain of mountains to the east and north, behind which are those where Jerusalem is situated. The road to Ramla might be passed in a carriage, and runs through ground of gentle ascent and descent. The town is beautifully situated: its minarets surmount the domes of the houses, and are intermixed with palm and cypress: the surrounding verdure, broken ground, a ruined mosque, said to be built in honour of a relation of Mahomet, combined with a large plantation of olives, formed a complete picture, which I had not time to sketch.

The convent to which I went is at the entrance of the town: it is a square, surrounded by a strong wall, capable of defence, and intended for that purpose. The constant alarm in which its inhabitants live renders it necessary to be ready for any sudden attack. On arriving at the gateway, and

before it was opened, we were reconnoitred from the top of the walls by one of the monks, and then admitted. There were at present only two capuchins, and two Syrian Christians, as servants, inhabiting it. I was welcomed, and shown a comfortable cell. They prepared me an excellent supper; and for the first time since I left Colonel Misset's house, I enjoyed the luxury of a cleanly meal. The monks were both Spaniards; one a respectable man, but considered the inquisition necessary, and the policy indispensable of keeping the common people in ignorance. The other was a low fellow, who pledged me in brandy, and increased his orthodoxy and attachment to the uncharitable part of the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion at every glass, giving me temporal happiness in common with all protestants, but cutting me off from salvation at the last day. Such doctrines at any other time would have amused; but in the very seat of our religion, where charity and love had been so preached, shocked and disgusted me. I was glad to retire to the terrace of the convent, which, besides overlooking two or three small orange-gardens within the walls, commanded a fine prospect of the surrounding country. The evening was delightful; not a breath of air, and the moon was at its full.

The chain of mountains that extended to the east were clearly discerned; fires and lights were scattered in the different villages. The mosques of Ramla were illuminated, on

account of the Ramazan ; nothing broke the silence of the place, but the hoarse voice of the imams, which called the faithful Mahometans to prayers. I could not but carry my thoughts to past times : many of the deeds related of Samson were performed within sight of the place where I stood. It was between Lydda and Ramla that his prowess was displayed, in the slaughter of the Philistines ; and the present Ramla seems to be a corruption of Ramath Lehi, the name he gave to the place of his victory *. The plains of the Philistines lay at the foot of the mountains of Judah ; and I could easily picture to myself the universal destruction of the corn, vineyards, and olive trees, which his firebrands scattered amongst them ; where no hedge nor deep ravine opposed the extension of the flames.

The “ voice of lamentation in Rama ” is still heard. The Christians still weep for their fallen state, in that country ; but whilst they consider they fulfil their duties by nothing but a rigorous observance of fasts, they must long have to mourn their fate. The old traditional tales and prophecies of the country foretell a change ; and the only consolation they have is in the hope of being liberated from the oppression of the Turks by some European power, and this is

openly said to be that of Russia. I fear, however, that the return of power to slaves, such as the Christians now are in Syria, would not render them more observant of the great precept of our Saviour—charity. The spirit of revenge for past injuries prevails among them ; but this is human nature.

On the 29th, I sat out for Jerusalem, with the same equipage as on the preceding day, two hours after midnight ; having had coffee prepared for me by one of the monks, and was provided with some refreshments for the journey. The road lay, at first, through a lane of Indian fig-trees ; when we came to a plain, and descended gently into an open country, where we were frequently met by peasants and droves of camels. We enjoyed the light of a bright moon for some time, which was succeeded by a fine twilight ; and, as the last star disappeared, the sun burst forth in full splendour, attended by all the richest hues for which an oriental sun-rise is celebrated. We arrived at the foot of the chain of mountains in about two hours, which began at the village of Latroun, round which were some ruined walls. Here the sides of the valleys were cultivated, after which the road generally lay through a thicket of high brush-wood of an aromatic smell, and the sides of the valleys were of sandy rock with horizontal strata. We had entered the Bab-el-Wad, the first pass of the mountains, and arrived, in three hours, at the village called Carriat-el-Aneb, better known by the name of

St. Jeremiah*, where is the ruin of a handsome Christian church, now converted into a stable: previous to this, I had been stopped for the caphar, by one of the mountaineers on horseback, and who paid no regard to my firman, and scarcely deigned to make any reply to my objection to the caphar. I was wiser than to continue the dispute; I left the mocarri to settle it; and found myself subject to still more interruption at St. Jeremiah, where there was a band of Arabs, armed with musquets, carousing under a tree. All of them suddenly rising, and coming towards me, startled me; their chief caught hold of my bridle, and bade me give an account of myself; and, on my attempting to proceed, cast that sort of ferocious look of anger, with a more authoritative exclamation to halt, that made me reflect on the folly of any resistance. As soon, however, as the mocarri had certified I had paid the caphar, I was allowed to continue my journey, and no farther notice taken.

The cultivation from this valley was generally vine, planted in terraces formed on the sides by walls made of loose stones, or by the natural strata of the soil. Some of the valleys were crowned with towers, one of which was called that of Tubal.

* Pococke did not go the direct road from Ramla to Jerusalem; and supposes Jeremiah, which he did not pass, to be Anatoth, where the prophet was born.

We passed the village of Kelaun, where the peasantry welcomed me with much cordiality. My umbrella became an object of curiosity to them; and I was obliged, in spite of the plague having begun to show itself in this part of the country, to let it pass through their hands. My reward was to hear, that "the Franks were certainly very ingenious." The women did not conceal their faces; many of them had very good features. Here was a bridge over a water course, that left signs of swelling considerably in the rainy season.

From hence there was little or no cultivation, though remains of it might be seen on the sides of the mountains; these became frightfully barren, extending far and wide, and seemed to shut out Jerusalem from the rest of the world. We at length got to the top of the last chain, and, looking to the north, I saw another winding valley, in which were villages in the midst of cultivation. The south was confined by a continuation of the mountain. Jerusalem soon presented itself, in a small extent of wall, with battlements and square towers: a few houses, and one mosque, appeared above them; and behind these, at a considerable distance, was a long range of hills, not very high, of a deep blue tint.

We arrived at the gates of the town at about one o'clock, having been eight hours in the mountains, and eleven on the journey. We entered by the gate of Sham (Damascus) at which a single janissary was stationed; passed through an

open space behind the walls, and soon arrived at the convent of Latin monks—to whom I had been recommended from that of the Propaganda at Cairo—said to stand on Mount Gihon. Its gates were locked, and it was with some difficulty I was allowed to enter, as the convent had been shut to guard against the plague, which had begun to show itself in the town.

The superior was asleep: I was obliged to remain in a corridor for some minutes, before I was permitted to enter the apartments destined for me. However, the delay and difficulty of the first admission were compensated for afterwards by great kindness and attention on the part of all the monks. I was received in the library by the superior, whose office entitled him to all the honours and distinctions due to a bishop; and his hand was kissed by the monks who approached him. My letters of introduction ensured me welcome. Refreshments of lemonade and chocolate were immediately brought. He attended me to my apartments, and took leave.

I felt too fatigued by my journey to wish to begin any visits to the objects of curiosity; I contented myself with enjoying the prospect presented from the terrace of the convent, from which the most interesting points of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood are to be distinguished: they are as follows. Within the walls, the two cupolas of the church of

the Holy Sepulchre, the church of Anne, the mother of Mary, both nearly underneath the convent; beyond, at a short distance, stands the mosque of Solomon, on the site of the ancient temple. The tower and mosque of David on the right. In front, outside the walls, exactly facing the terrace, the Mount of Olives is situated on the east side of the valley of Siloe, which is, at the foot of the walls. The quarries, where is the grotto of Jeremiah, are at the north-east. The mountains, beyond the Dead Sea, are to the south; to the south-east are the hills, concealing Bethlehem from view. On the north is an olive wood, beyond which are the tombs of the Judges. The view to the rear is impeded by the buildings of the convent, and confined to a part of the plain on the road to Jaffa, outside the gate of Sham.

The interest raised by the scene before me was not easily lost, it being impossible to avoid having the most serious reflections on contemplating it. Part was beautifully picturesque. I remained for a long time uninterrupted by the monks, who were occupied in prayer in the chapel of the convent. Towards sun-set the air became cool, and had the effect of frost on my breath. I was surprised at the sudden change, and was compelled to leave the terrace; when soon after a plentiful dinner, a bottle of wine of Bethlehem, resembling rough cider, was served in my apartments; at the conclusion of which, I had a visit from the monks.

I was attended by the dragoman of the convent, on the following morning, the 30th, to the aga, to whom I wished to present my firman. His residence is in that part of the town where was said to be the house of Pontius Pilate. The windows of his divan looked to the Esplanade, in which stood the mosque of Solomon, whence I had an opportunity of observing accurately this celebrated edifice, previous to the arrival of the aga. The body is an octagonal building of beautiful proportions, with a gently sloping roof, from the centre of which rises a circular building, crowned with a dome covered with lead, and surmounted by the crescent. It stands in an open space of ground enclosed by walls, in which at distances are Saracenic arches, connected by slight pillars; through these are the entrances, by a low flight of steps, from the exterior to the interior space, which may be about two hundred yards square. A colonnade of pillars, adding much to the picturesque appearance of the building, connects two handsome mosque-like edifices to the east and west sides of the octagon.

The exterior space is about three hundred yards square, in which are cypress and olive trees. A small monument of Saracenic architecture, whose history I could not learn, stands on the north-west corner of the inner space. In each side of the octagonal body of the mosque are seven arched windows; the space between them and the roof is variegated in the

style of Mosaic. The walls of the city enclose the south and east sides of the outer square ; the west and south boundaries of the inner square are small quadrangular houses with arched roofs, and are joined to the Saracenic arches above mentioned.

The visits of ceremony paid by Franks to Turkish chiefs have little variety : conversations held through an interpreter are irksome. One is soon weary of the dulness of a formal interview. The aga listened to my firman with great respect, bowed at the commands of the Grand Signor, offered me every assistance in his power, insisted on my using his horses whilst I remained at Jerusalem, gave me an order to see the holy sepulchre, and, on my complaining that I had been stopped at St. Jeremiah by the chief of the village, who went by the name of Abou Gosh, in spite of my having a firman ; he promised that not only it should not happen on my return, but that he would have the chief brought to Jerusalem to make me an apology.

The manners of the aga, whose name was Abd el Kareem, had been formed in the seraglio at Constantinople, whence he had been sent direct to his government of Jerusalem. He had all the polish of a court ; smiled, bowed, and seemed to weigh his words and conduct like a well-bred courtier. His physiognomy struck me as being different from other Turks I had seen, having a red beard and eye brows, with sandy complexion.

Within the limits of the aga's seraglio or palace are said to be the place of confinement and judgment-hall of our Saviour, the spot where he was scourged, that in which the cross was kept before it was used for the crucifixion, and where it was left by the empress Helena after she found it on Mount Calvary. What attracted my observation most, (as the above are either stables or outhouses, and leave every thing to the imagination,) were three or four layers of immense stones, apparently of the ancient town, forming part of the walls of the palace.

On the road from the palace to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the dragoman pointed to three impressions in the rocky part of the ground, which he said were the marks of our Saviour's knees when he fell with the cross.

As the porters of the Holy Sepulchre, who are imams appointed from Constantinople, were not to be found, I visited the ruined church of St. Anna, said to be built on the spot where the mother of the Virgin Mary lived, and where the latter was born: close to it is the shell of three Saracenic windows, part of a church built in memory of the spot where Anne and Mary wept at the crucifixion of our Saviour. From this I went to the castle built on Mount Sion, near which is the mosque of David, whose tomb is supposed to be there, the veneration for which is equal to that for the mosque of Solomon; and no Christian is allowed to visit either.

In one of the towers, that served as a barrack to some Albanian soldiers, I was shown a mark in the window-seat, which one of the soldiers pointed out as the impression of David's elbow. The traveller who is inclined to listen to such tales as these, will have many others of equal merit told him, to which implicit belief is given by the inhabitants.

Here were confined another party of prisoners made in the late dispute before mentioned, between the Pasha of Damascus and the peasants of some of the villages in his Pashalic. They were fastened together with large chains, of a size I have rarely seen used, and were immured in a small dungeon, which reminded me of the Black Hole of Calcutta. The Turks, however, had more compassion than was shown to our countrymen, as the door was left open to give them air. There was a look of fierceness and pride in the countenances of these Syrians that evinced contempt for their conquerors: they were crowded together like sheep, the heads of some appearing under the bodies of others; hands, knees, and legs indiscriminately mixed; yet, neither in my approach, nor whilst at the door of the dungeon, did I hear any symptom of impatience.

It appeared these peasants inhabited two villages, called Calhooly and Soofrin, about six hours north of Lydda, and made such successful resistance to the levy of contributions by the Pasha of Damascus, that he was obliged to obtain troops from all the Pashalics and governments in Syria to

assist him. A force was drawn together sufficient to carry all before it. The villages were taken, after a resistance of three days; were destroyed, and the wives and children sold as slaves. . About seven hundred men that remained after the slaughter of the rest, were kept, in the hopes of their being able to ransom themselves.

I found, on my return to the church of the Sepulchre, that I had still to wait for the arrival of one of the three porters, and the presence of all three was required before the gates could be opened. They were evidently much disappointed at my having an order for admission; and before I had seen all the holy places contained within the walls, one of them, on my refusing to pay the entrance-money, caught me by the arms, and endeavoured to intimidate me into leaving the church: this caused a disturbance in the crowd that followed. However, as I considered myself secure of protection, I disengaged myself, preserved my temper, and without noticing his conduct, proceeded to the object of my visit.

The form of the body of the church of the Holy Sepulchre is circular, over which is a heavy cupola. In the body of the church are entrances to the three chapels of the Greeks, Armenians, and Latins, and to the cells of the monks who are kept there for the service of the church. The chapels are fitted up in the style of the sect to which they belong;

the Greeks and Armenians with pictures, the Latins with images. In the centre rises an oblong building of wood, of twenty feet in length by ten in breadth, in which is a cupola, open at top. One half of this contains the sepulchre of our Saviour, the other is fitted up for the chapel of the Copts. A small space enclosed by low railings surrounds the entrance to the Sepulchre. I confess I had been prepared to see something like a tomb, and was rather disappointed, on entering, to find myself in a mean chapel, where the altar, of plain white marble, occupied a space of six feet in length, two in breadth, and in depth about two feet and a half, leaving only room in front of it to kneel. It covers, according to the tradition of the place, the tomb of our Saviour, of whom a miserable picture is hung on the tapestry over the altar; this is lighted by forty-five silver lamps, suspended in six rows from the cupola. I followed the example of my guide, in kissing the altar, kneeling, and bowing my head over it.

From the sepulchre I was led to a flat stone of six feet in length and three in breadth, forming part of the pavement of the body of the church, where our Saviour's body was anointed after it was taken from the cross; near which were the tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin, two of the sovereigns of Jerusalem during the crusades: they are now enclosed and concealed from view within the wall; their existence and

appearance not being interesting to the Armenians, who new modelled the church, as will hereafter be explained.

The attempt to bring every thing connected with the crucifixion of our Saviour under the same roof surprised me. In one part of the church is an elevated piece of rock, enclosed in a sort of chapel, in which the crucifixion took place; three small square pieces of marble, in the centre of each of which is a hole, mark the spot where the crosses of our Saviour and the malefactors were fixed; and in another, close to this, is a chapel, dedicated to the place where the ceremony of nailing to the cross was performed: underneath is an excavation, where St. Helena found the cross; and a little farther off is the tomb of Nicodemus the Jew, who is mentioned in St. John, chap. iii.; but by what authority he is buried here I do not know.

To complete the show, a fragment of a granite column, about two feet high, said to be taken from the palace of Pontius Pilate, and described as the pillar to which our Saviour was attached when he was scourged, is placed in another chapel. But I will not tire the reader by dwelling longer on the relics of this church, which are made the objects of contention between the different sects, and are by turns possessed, as each has money to purchase the right to them from the Turkish chiefs, who of course are anxious that such contests should occur.

I will finish the account of the church of the Holy Sepulchre by describing its exterior, or rather, that part clear of other buildings. Its front is almost entirely closed up, not more than sixty feet being exposed to view : a single gateway of Gothic or Saracenic architecture forms the entrance, over which is one window ; and between them a torus runs along the front horizontally : a paved court in front, of small dimensions, separates it from the street, kept sacred to Mussulmen and Christians, no Jew being allowed to pass near the church, which is said to stand on Mount Calvary.

The insult offered to me by the imam porter gave me an opportunity of benefitting the Latin convent, whose priests were daily suffering from his oppressive conduct : they were not sorry to find me disposed to make a complaint to the aga. The superior came to me, to lament the indignity offered to an officer of the British army, and begged me to allow him to make the business as formal as possible. In consequence of which, I was attended in the evening by the procurator or treasurer, the two janissaries, two servants with torches, and the two dragomans of the convent. We were introduced into the same divan as before, which was well lighted : great surprise and pleasure was expressed by the aga at my unexpected visit : coffee, pipes, and sherbet, were brought, and the subject of my visit explained : in conse-

quence of which, after a consultation with the cadi, it was agreed that the imam should be suspended till final orders arrived for his dismissal from Constantinople.



CHAPTER III.

Visit to Bethlehem—Peasantry of Bethlehem—Existence of the plague—Convent and church containing the supposed birth-place of our Saviour—Excursion in the mountains—Grotto of Annunciation—Apology made to the writer by the Arab chief of St. Jeremiah—Ancient monuments—Bethany—Mosque of Ascension—Tombs of the Judges—Army of the Pasha of Damascus, and ceremonies on the approach to Jerusalem.

ON the following day, the 31st, I was provided with three horses by the aga ; and, attended by one of the dragomans and a janissary, set out on an excursion to Bethlehem. We left the town by the gate of that name, crossed the valley,

supposed of Jehoshaphat, and ascended into the plain southwest of the city, on which are several square towers in ruin, described as existing in the time of the crusades. The road then lay through a ravine, where is a pile of loose stones; this the dragoman pointed out to me as the spot where the star first appeared to the magi, and continued flitting before them, like an *ignis fatuus*, till they came to Bethlehem. We proceeded through a rugged and broken country, in which a few wild olives grew, and arrived at the convent of Elias, inhabited by two or three Greek monks. A tree, on the right hand side of the road opposite to the convent, is still venerated as that under which the prophet lay. In proof is shown an impression made in the rock by his body, and miraculously preserved. From this, Bethlehem, situated on the top of a steep hill, is first seen; on the east of which stands the convent, built over the birth-place of our Saviour. It has the appearance of a fort; was distant about an hour, and from Jerusalem rather more than two hours.

As we advanced, I observed, in a valley, at some distance on the left, a small stone building in an enclosure of trees, which was pointed out to me as the grotto where the shepherds were foretold the coming of the Messiah. On our arrival at the foot of the hill of Bethlehem, we ascended a tolerable road, by the side of which were gardens and vineyards; then, having passed through the narrow streets of the

village, arrived at the convent; where the precautions I had taken to avoid contact with the inhabitants, whose village was infected strongly with the plague, were rendered useless. A crowd of peasantry was assembled to celebrate a marriage. At any other time it would have been amusing to have observed the gala dresses and rejoicings of the party: I felt I could now have dispensed with them. The females were chiefly girls, dressed in a profusion of coloured garments, with uncovered faces, displaying great beauty, and features not entirely Syrian: scandal accounts for this by the numerous strangers who visit 'Bethlehem during the' holy week. They ceased their concert of voices, accompanied with clapping of hands and quick motion of their bodies, on my arrival. I was immediately surrounded by the men, and it was with difficulty I could prevail on them to keep their distance. Several of them addressed me in Italian. Their chief made himself known to me, when I requested his interference, which he exerted in my favour. He prepared to accompany me in a further excursion into the country. I entered the convent. It was necessary to proceed with caution in a place within whose walls a monk had died of the plague only a few days before; but I found this impossible. The church, forming part of it, and containing the supposed manger, was filled with people, and matted. I was a Frank and a stranger, was followed and surrounded. Having pro-

ceeded so far, it would have shown too much fear to withdraw without seeing the object of my visit; accordingly, I continued in the church, and viewed all that it contained. The most sacred spots are two grottoes under ground, fitted up as chapels; these are so damp that water drops from the walls—very unsuitable for the reception of cattle, much less for a woman in child-birth. I descended into them by a small flight of steps. They were lighted with rich silver lamps, the offerings of France, Spain, Sardinia, and Naples: one of the grottoes was called the place of birth of our Saviour; the other that of ablution, where he was taken when born.

The church is the joint property of the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, who have monks residing in the convent for its service. I accepted refreshments from the Latin priests, who were resigned to their perilous state.

On leaving the convent I was joined by the chief of the village. He told me he was a Christian, and that three parts of the inhabitants were Christians; the rest Mahometans, under a sheik: that they lived in great harmony with each other; and were not subject to much oppression from the Turkish chiefs of Jerusalem. He was in alliance with Abou Gosh of St. Jeremiah; and, when required, could bring a hundred men armed with musquets into the field: his men were constantly at war with the Christian Arabs of St. Philip, a vil-

lage at three or four hours' distance; and they distinguished each other by the difference of flags, his being red, that of St. Philip white. He ridiculed the precautions taken by the Franks against the plague. The chief employment of the inhabitants was that of making beads, rosaries, crucifixes, and relics, for the pilgrims and for the different convents, who exported great quantities to Europe, having first consecrated them on the altar of the Sepulchre.

My escort was now increased by two Arabs, companions of the chief. We descended the hill of Bethlehem towards the south, and wound through a long narrow valley, barren and rocky; in two hours arrived at the cisterns of Solomon, supposed to be near the gardens of Rehoboam. There were three, one above the other, in the ascent of a barren stony valley that crossed the one in which we were: the first, nearest the entrance of the valley, is the largest, and may be about three hundred feet long and two hundred wide; the greatest depth at the lowest part is about thirty feet: the remaining two are smaller; the centre one less than the third. They are empty, and are constructed with masonry.

From this place there is an aqueduct to Bethlehem, carrying water from a fountain close to the road: the communication with Jerusalem which the aqueduct once had is now cut off. Near the fountain is a strong square building, capable of defence. Hence we took an eastern direction

down another valley, which afforded pasture to some cattle : in the sides were caverns, with very small entrances, into which the Arabs retire when overtaken by the hot winds. In an hour we came to a hamlet, where there was cultivation, and obtained refreshments of grapes and fruit, under the shade of a fig-tree ; we then continued, by a succession of valleys, to the spot where the angel appeared to the shepherds to announce our Saviour's birth. It was a grotto under ground, to which was a descent by steps ; excessively cold ; containing an altar of stone, where mass is performed once during Easter. The enclosure in which it is consists of a plantation of olives.

A small village on the top of a hill, rising at some distance on the left, is called to this day the Village of the Shepherds. There are several high mountains to the East ; on one of which, called Monte Francese by the Christians, was a strong post held by the crusaders, and the last surrendered to the Saracens*.

On my return I passed through some vineyards, producing a fine muscadell. An Arab encampment in cultivated land surprised me : it appeared the Arabs were eagerly received by the inhabitants of the country for the manure afforded by

* See Pococke.

their cattle: an amicable treaty between both parties ensured safety from pillage. The cattle I had seen in the valleys belonged to the Arabs: they were driven to pasture during the day, and at night were brought back. In the present infected state of the country I did not think it prudent to enter the tents, to which I was invited by the sheik: his women, who came out with their faces uncovered, joined the men in their hospitable invitations.

On my return to the convent at Jerusalem, I found the aga had brought the Arab chief of St. Jeremiah to make his apologies to me. I recollected the face of the man who had seized my bridle, and was rather astonished at the humility with which he excused himself for what he had done: he professed great attachment to the British nation, and to Sir Sidney Smith in particular, and promised that no Englishman should ever be stopped again. He begged me to accept a horse in token of his good intentions, promised to send his own slave to accompany me back to Ramla, and said he should have refreshments prepared for me at his village. I was obliged to go through the ceremony of accepting the horse, which I again returned, as I could not, according to my plans of travel, use it; this etiquette was necessary to prove amity: we then touched hands in token of friendship, and parted. The submission I had witnessed made me understand that the country was under better government than a few

years ago, when even Djezzars' firman, and guard, did not ensure Dr. Clark's party from much risk at this chief's village.

On the following morning, being again furnished with horses by the aga, I left the town by the gate of Bethlehem, and descended into the valley of Jehoshaphat, in whose sides are sepulchral excavations: of these I shall have to speak in the sequel. We continued under the walls of the town, and turned to the north to enter the valley of Siloe, whose brook flows beneath the modern walls at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

The field of blood, now called "Akel Forar," or, "the field of jars or pottery;" the spot where the Jews counselled against Christ; the well of Nehemiah; and the miraculous impression of our Saviour's hands, shown on the rock, which tradition ascribes to his fall when the multitude precipitated him down the valley; were pointed out to me in common with all preceding travellers.

The ancient monuments noticed by Clarke, Maundrell, and Chateaubriand, still exist; and, though described by them, yet I may be pardoned for introducing them into this work. Of their age there is great doubt; they have names given to them on the same sort of authority, perhaps, as that which points out the other holy places in Jerusalem. The first, at the head of the valley of Siloe, is said to be the tomb of Zachariah. This is a square building cut out of the rock, by

which it is surrounded on three of its sides ; they are about ten feet each : the height of the monument is about fourteen feet, surmounted by an entablature and cornice, included in the height above named ; and on which is a pyramidal roof, terminated by a cylindrical top : at each angle of the sides of the tomb are two Ionic pilasters, and, in the centre of the walls, two columns of the same order. It is without any entrance.

The name of Isaiah is attached to a second monument, of nearly the same dimensions and architecture, except that the roof is a cupola surmounted by a cube.

In the space between the above monuments is an excavation in the rock, having a façade like that of the portico of a Greek temple, consisting of two Ionic columns in the centre ; on each side of which are pilasters of the same order, completing the front. On entering are several chambers excavated in the rock, communicating with each other ; the legend attached to them is, that the disciples hid themselves here on the crucifixion of our Saviour.

Close to the tomb of Isaiah is the pediment of another excavation above the ground ; in the entablature is a wreath of foliage of great beauty of design and execution, in full relief. From these monuments of doubtful antiquity we passed several others, whose Hebrew inscriptions proved to whom they were dedicated ; and began to ascend the Mount

of Olives. At the south end, near its summit, stands the village of Bethany, now called Aizarree: of course, this could not be without a tomb of Lazarus; we were conducted to a subterraneous grotto, containing an altar, where mass is sometimes celebrated, said to be the place where our Saviour performed the miracle of raising him from the dead.

From the summit there is a fine view of part of the Dead Sea, and the mountains surrounding it.

Having passed the spot where our Saviour mounted the ass to enter Jerusalem, and which is still commemorated in the person of the guardian or superior of the Latin convent during the ceremonies of the holy week, we arrived at the place of the Ascension. A small mosque encloses the spot. It is open to Christians and Turks, but appears neglected by both; yet the impression of our Saviour's feet, preserved from being profaned by the tread of human feet by a low enclosure of stone of three or four inches high, is still kissed and revered by all pilgrims.

A traveller must be prepared to find every place connected with Scripture pointed out. It does no harm; yet it is difficult to imagine that tradition can hand down so faithfully what is now so accurately shown. There is enough true, however, for those who view it with becoming respect, and we need not dispute for the rest.

Having paid a small sum, by way of present, to the Turk

who dwelt near the mosque of Ascension, we descended to the tombs of Joseph, James, Anne, and Mary, the mother of Jesus. These are all contained in a subterraneous chapel of tolerable size; to this a broad and numerous flight of steps leads, worthy of admiration, even in more civilised countries. The tombs are in recesses to the right and left, large enough to admit of altars, where mass is celebrated. The altars are the supposed sarcophagi of the deceased. The spot where our Saviour's passion took place is here; it is a grotto fitted up as a chapel.

Hence we ascended through a plantation of olives, north of Jerusalem, to the tombs of the Judges; within a walled enclosure, whose only entrance was by a hole, through which I scrambled, and found myself in an open space resembling a quarry. On the west side, the rock is hewn smooth into the form of a portico, of about thirty feet long and ten high, without support from columns, but with an entablature and cornice. These are ornamented by wreaths of flowers, fruits, vine leaves, grapes, and corn, in relief, of exquisite workmanship. On the south side of this portico is a small opening, into which I crept with difficulty, and entered a chamber of ten or twelve feet square; whence was a suite of similar chambers; some of them were finished with care, others roughly hewn; parts of doors, and cornices of coarse marble, lay scattered about. I was less interested with these

excavations than with those I had seen at Thebes ; and, after having vainly searched for some inscription, left them, to return towards Jerusalem ; where, near the walls, I had the good fortune to see the ceremony of the arrival of the army of the Pasha of Damascus, on its way to conduct the pilgrims to Mecca.

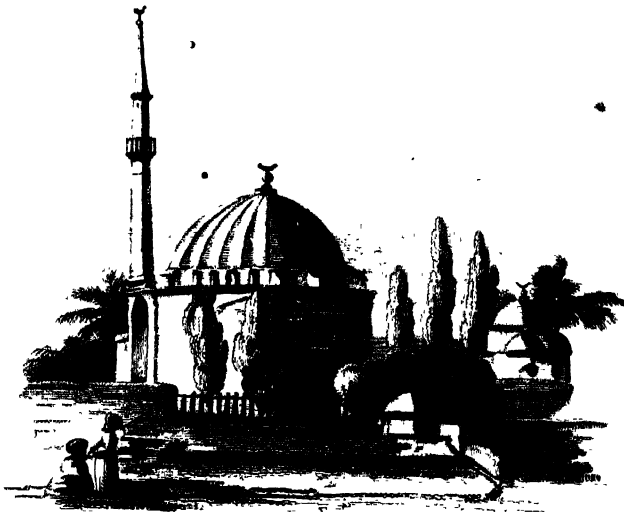
Though Pococke relates with minuteness all the ceremonies of the procession, I found it impossible to follow his description.

I was highly interested by the variety of costume and banners, by the motley groupes of figures composing the army, and by all the barbarous pomp of Eastern manners. Cavalry preceded music, consisting of pipes, kettle-drums, and trumpets, played by men on horseback, who seemed to vie with each other in attempts at discordance : white, red, and green banners waved before the representative of the Pasha of Damascus, whom business prevented from being present : the main body of the army, chiefly of cavalry, followed ; these discharged their firelocks at pleasure, and kept up an irregular fire on the march. In the cavalry that preceded the main body, there was a detachment of dromedaries, on whose backs was attached a small swivel, each served by a topgee or artilleryman, mounted behind it. The singularity of such an apparatus may be easily imagined. A band of prisoners, part of the capture mentioned in the preceding pages, was

marched in chains at the head of the procession; during which there was a mock combat between two men dressed as savages, naked to the waist, and armed with sword and shield.

The procession was met under the walls of Jerusalem by the heads of the different convents, who made their obeisances to the chief: salutes were fired from the ramparts of the citadel; and the walls were crowded with spectators. The army was encamped outside the walls, in front of the gates of Bethlehem and Damascus.

As I confined myself to the town during the two remaining days of my residence at Jerusalem, I shall proceed in the following chapter to give a short description of it.



CHAPTER IV.

Description and state of Jerusalem—Armenian, Greek, and Latin convents—
 Disputes between them—Trait in Greek servant with regard to absolution—
 Jews—Government of Jerusalem—Remarks on the excavations in the valley
 of Jehoshaphat.

JERUSALEM, known to the natives of Syria only by the name of El Kodts, a contraction from Medinat-el-Kadess, i. e. the Sacred City, stands on the west side of a valley, of which the east is the Mount of Olives. It contains within its walls several of the hills on which the ancient city was supposed to have stood; these are only perceptible by the ascent and descent of the streets.

The town, viewed from the Mount of Olives, appears lying on the inclined plain of the side of the valley on which it stands, having all its principal buildings exposed to sight in an oblong enclosure by walls. The streets are narrow, and without pavement: the houses are seen to most advantage from the hills about the town, whence the cupolas give even an air of grandeur to them. The details of streets and gates related by M. Chateaubriand preclude the necessity of mentioning them here. Those I asked for from the account mentioned in his book were always pointed out to me. The only bazar through which I passed was of mean appearance: there seemed little commerce except in relics and rosaries.

The population is said to be twelve thousand, of which the largest proportion is Mussulmen: the greatest of one sect are Jews: the rest are composed of Christians of the East, belonging either to the Armenian, Greek, Latin, or Coptish sects. Of these the Armenians are the richest; are said to intrigue most with the Turks; and, from their money, gradually get possession of the holy places originally in the hands of the Latin monks. They at one time professed obedience to the pope, and were therefore allowed to have a chapel in the Holy Sepulchre: afterwards, when they were wealthy enough to set up for themselves, they abjured their allegiance to the pope, and became more violent against the Latins than the Greeks. About four or five years before

my arrival, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was burnt down; an accident charged by some to the Armenians, who knew that none of the other sects had money enough to rebuild it; whilst they, having the command of money, might make what terms they pleased, and obtain what portion of the holy places they chose; and thus, from the visits of pilgrims, have good interest for their capital. The Latins and Greeks were violent in their antipathy to the Armenians: in this they were united, but in all other respects took equal advantage of their interest with the Turks to repress each other's influence. The church of the Armenians is said to stand on the place where St. James was beheaded. When I visited it the monks were at prayers; their black cowls and robes, and long silvery beards, had a most melancholy aspect. On the opposite side stood the nuns of their sect; they differed in dress from the monks by wearing white cowls.

The convent of Greeks appeared not so large an establishment as that of the Armenians or Latins. The reverence with which the guardian was treated was more abject than I had imagined: my Greek servant, on entering the room in which he sat, prostrated himself on the ground at the door, crawled on his hands and knees to the divan where he sat, kissed his hand, and then retired backwards in the same way.

The absolution given by the Greek religion to pilgrims is so ample, that no catalogue of sins is without its price*. My Greek servant wished to take advantage of this; obtained money in my name on false pretences from the treasurer of the Latin convent, and bought himself a full pardon. I thought this trait justified my sending him back to Damietta, whence I had taken him.

The number of the Latin monks for the service of Holy Land was much reduced at the time I was there: they were from all parts of Europe, but the greatest number Spaniards; the superior always an Italian, the treasurer a Spaniard. Some had fled from Europe to avoid the yoke of Buonaparte; others had come from devotion, and were heartily tired of their situation; others again had reconciled themselves to it, obtained appointments, and had remained in the country from choice for many years, without desire to return to Europe: some are lay brothers, others priests: all the former are employed in the interior economy of the convents, as stewards, surgeons, warehouse-keepers, &c. The latter rise to spiritual dignities. They are divided amongst the Hospitia or auxiliary convents of Nazareth, Ramla, Bethlehem, Damascus, Jaffa, Acri; that of St. John, in the desert near Jericho, had been lately abandoned.*

* See Volney also, p. 258, vol. ii. English translation, 8vo.

The late struggles in Europe had deprived them of the means of keeping up their interest with the Turkish chiefs; they were outbid by the other sects, particularly the Armenians; and were in great distress, from want of money, for the common necessities of the convent. I could not help feeling for the degraded state of the representatives of the Roman church, in spite of their dealing out damnation to the followers of the reformed religion, which they did with an air of commiseration rather than of uncharitableness; lamenting particularly that such good people as the English seemed to be, should be thus separated from the salvation held out by the Roman Catholic church: they amused me by saying that England, for unknown causes, was favoured by Providence with temporal blessings alone.

Every traveller is told of the disputes with the Greeks and Armenians. I was shocked to hear that these disputes had given rise to blows between the Greeks and Latins, even in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Such conduct must naturally scandalize the religion, and bring it into more disrepute with the Turks*. The Christians are favoured by the

* Maundrell mentions the quarrels between the Greeks and Latins for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre; the guardian showed him a scar on his arm, the mark of a wound inflicted by a Greek: perhaps their story to me was a traditional one, to excite interest.

chiefs, in proportion to their wealth ; are constantly litigating with each other in matters relative to the interests of their sects, and are subject to daily insults from the Turks. The Latin priests, being more distinct in point of dress from those of other sects, suffer most ; they are beaten, spit on, and pelted without mercy, by the Mahometan inhabitants ; and can have no redress, but from money. Some of the priests expressed themselves respecting this in terms rather too much of revenge ; others seemed to bear their injuries with meekness, as if from the recollection of the sufferings of our Saviour in the same place.

I witnessed the utter contempt held by the Mahometans of all in the dress of Europeans, having been spit at and hooted by some of the lower orders, even when I was mounted on the aga's horse, and attended by a janissary, who did not express surprise or indignation at what happened.

None of the sects can enter the church of the Sepulchre, but by payment. The keys are kept by the Turks, whose perquisites are immense. Each pilgrim pays, on his first entrance, a sum nearly equal to fifteen shillings. The convents pay about one shilling and sixpence for each time they have it opened ; and every ceremony costs a certain sum, in proportion to its duration. The church contains cells for twelve monks of each of the three principal sects, who re-

main constantly there, and are supplied with food from their convents. The Copts are so very poor, that they scarcely have any competition; and I could not learn what number of monks they kept for the service of their chapel.

There are few or no European Roman Catholic pilgrims. Those coming from the East are chiefly Maronites, who acknowledge the pope. The other sects have numerous bands of pilgrims, whose morals are not benefitted by their visiting Jerusalem. Such has been the effect, I fear, of pilgrimages, in all times and countries. The towns of Italy were said formerly to abound with prostitutes from France and England; and chiefly the latter, on their return from the shrine of St. Peter.

The ceremonies of Easter Sunday, described by Maundrell*, continue to take place with equal indecency; they do not tend to the respect of the religion. The holy fire is still lighted by the Greeks, and is still the cause of disputes and blows; which the Turkish soldiers, sent to preserve order, in vain endeavour to prevent. My dragoman, in mentioning the holy fire, endeavoured to depreciate the respectability of the Greeks, by saying they were obliged to light it in secret; "whilst we," added he, with an air of superiority, "can do so in the face of the whole world."

* Page 94.

* The Jews have many synagogues, but very small, and more filthy than those I have seen in other parts of the East. Although they are oppressed and treated with more contempt at Jerusalem than elsewhere, they still flock to it. To sleep in Abraham's bosom is the wish of the old ; the young visit it in the hopes of the coming of the Messiah ; some are content to remain, for the commerce they carry on.

They pay a heavy tax to the Turkish governor at Jerusalem. The sums to the aga of Jaffa when they land, and to the chief of St. Jeremiah for safe conduct, produce a large revenue to both. The Jewish quarter, as in all Eastern towns, is separate from the rest. I found men from all nations, except England.

The government of Jerusalem rests in the aga, appointed by the Pasha of Damascus ; and a mufti, appointed by the Porte, who unites the two offices of cadi and chief of the religion in one. The emoluments arising from his office are so great, that he only remains a year, when he is succeeded by another. The convents contribute largely to the support of these offices. Besides the sums advanced to the aga and mufti, the convents are obliged to make the Pasha of Damascus an annual present, on the arrival of his army, on its way to Mecca. The amount depends on his pleasure, and is announced on the first visit of ceremony paid by the treasurer, on his arrival.

I was witness to the distress occasioned to the Latin convent, at the demand made by the Pasha's representative, which it was totally unable to satisfy. The poverty of this convent had been for some time pretty well known, or a demur in the payment would have caused the immediate imprisonment of the superior, and perhaps of the whole convent.

In addition to these expenses, the different convents pay large sums annually to the Arab chief of St. Jeremiah, for safe conduct through the mountains, and must submit to any extraordinary demands he may make. A refusal would immediately subject their sectaries to be plundered, on their way to and from Jerusalem.

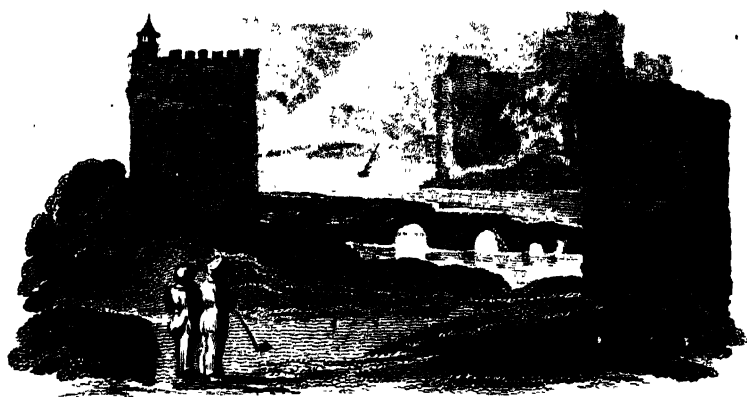
Whilst the army from Damascus is there, each convent pays and feeds a guard of twelve janissaries, to prevent the insults to which they would be subject from the other soldiers. Even this does not ensure them protection. The terrace of the Latin convent is overlooked by part of the ground where the army was encamped. The priests, at that time, dare not show themselves on their terrace, for fear of being fired at, which the soldiers seemed to do for amusement. I happened personally to know the danger of exposing myself there, by the passing of a musquet ball very near me, while I was sketching a view from thence. I had fortunately nearly finished what I wished to draw, and took

an opportunity of completing my work very early on the following morning.

In the preceding pages, I have alluded to the circumstance of bringing every thing connected with the crucifixion of our Saviour under one roof, and particularly that of fixing the sepulchre close to the place of crucifixion. Had not a divine of the church of England combatted the probability of the former being the actual burial place of our Saviour, I should have hesitated in presuming to give an opinion on the subject. In doing so, I acknowledge the sacredness of the spot; but when I saw Mount Calvary within a few feet of the alleged place of sepulchre, and the apparent inclination to crowd a variety of events under one roof, I could not help imagining that the zeal of the early Christians might have been the cause of their not seeking amongst the tombs further from the city the real sepulchre. In the valley of Jehoshaphat, there are caverns which have evidently been tombs; many of them with a stone portal, and bear marks of great antiquity. The text in Scripture says the stone was rolled away, which certainly applies more to a vertical than a horizontal position, the supposed situation of the present tomb; and is contrary to the custom prevalent of burying the dead in tombs excavated in the sides of rocks, of which memorials are to be found in all parts of the East. As I made these observations before I read Doctor Clarke's ac-

count of Jerusalem, I was much gratified in finding his opinion coincide with mine.

Before I close this chapter, I shall mention that the name of Sir Sidney Smith was still revered amongst the Christians of Jerusalem. The Arab chief, Aboo Gosh, used it in token of regard for the English.



CHAPTER V.

Departure from Jerusalem—Embarkation at Jaffa for Acri—Arrival—Government—Remarks on the last attempts of Buonaparte to storm the town—Anecdote of cruelty of Djezzar Pasha—Country between Acri and Nazareth—Convent at this village—Anecdote of a Christian woman—Inhospitable conduct of the villagers—Ascent of Mount Tabor—View from thence—Plains between this mountain and Tiberias—Picturesque situation of this town—Tombs—Hot baths—River Jordan—Return to Nazareth and Acri—Seida—Advantages of French government, by having Frenchmen accredited agents in the Levant—Beirutte—Suspensions of the aga there—Commerce—Residence at the vice-consul's house.

I FOUND it necessary to hasten my departure from Jerusalem, where the plague had showed itself, and the monks were

about to cut off the communication with the town. I was obliged to content myself with the hasty observations I had made, being anxious to relieve them from my presence; therefore, having prepared for my departure, taken a friendly leave of all with whom I had formed an acquaintance, and made a present, equal to about three dollars for each day I had remained in the convent, to the treasurer, which was received with some scruples and many expressions of thanks, I left Jerusalem after sunset on the evening of the 3d of September, attended by a servant of Abou Gosh, passed through the Turkish camp unmolested, where I saw a few field-pieces; and having retraced my steps during a moon-light night, arrived at St. Jeremiah. Here I excused myself from taking refreshments prepared by the followers of Abou Gosh, who reproached me, in a half serious half laughing way, for complaining of their chief; but promised that no British officer should be again treated as a common pilgrim. I was then permitted to proceed: after which, the only interruption I met with previous to my arrival at Ramla, was occasioned by the approach of two immense wild boars, whom we fired at without hitting.

It was sunrise when I reached Ramla; where, after refreshing myself with sleep till the afternoon, I visited the subterraneous church of the Forty Martyrs, a ruin which may be dated from the time of the crusades. Close to it

is a large reservoir, whose roof is supported by arches and pillars of the Gothic or Saracenic architecture, and is ascribed to St. Helena. Its length cannot be less than a hundred feet, and breadth forty. The monks show the well of St. Benedict the monk, but have no legend attached to it. A detachment of Turkish cavalry quartered in the town were exercising themselves at the Djereed in some ground adjoining the plantations of trees near the convent; they observed me making my remarks, but offered no interruption.

I slept at Ramla on the 4th, again enjoyed the view from the terrace of the convent, and left it with regret for Jaffa on the following morning, where I was disappointed at not seeing the chapel said to be built on the spot where St. Peter had his vision. I found I was an object of suspicion to the aga, as he supposed me employed by my government: my firman was again sent for; and again read; notice of my arrival was sent to Acrida, and the date and purport of my firman forwarded.

I was not sorry to leave a place which had little to interest, where my accommodations were bad, where wine was not to be procured, and where the water* was impregnated by that from the sea, so as to give it the taste of a

* Pococke mentions plenty of good water from wells dug close to the sea, p. 407, vol. x. Pinkerton's collection.

weak solution of Glauber salts; which, however, I rectified by the juice of lemons. I took a passage in an open rice-boat of about forty tons, with a crew of six or seven men, going to Acri, and embarked about nine o'clock on the evening of my return from Ramla. The wind, however, prevented us from sailing till the morning, when we passed the low sandy shore of Zabour, a long straggling village, behind which was a range of low hills: the ruins of Cesarea then presented themselves, with wooded hills overhanging them. We were obliged to anchor at Santoor, and remained there part of the night, when a land-breeze sprang up, and in the morning we found ourselves beyond Castel Pelligrino, called by the Syrians Atleet; near which the mountains, covered with brush-wood, shelve gently down to the shore. Beyond is a point of land running for some distance into the sea: this was fatal to the flotilla that carried the battering train of Buonaparte's army before Acri: it was taken by the squadron under Sir Sidney Smith*. Mount Carmel rises behind it; and Caipha, surmounted by two or three towers, is at its extremity. As soon as we had passed we entered the Bay of Acri. This bay is about three leagues broad and two deep; the land adjoining is a plain,

* See *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, vol. ii. p. 214, Paris edit. 1801.

encircled by a range of hills, that present themselves on approaching Acri in this direction, as if immediately behind. The town appears low when first seen: two or three high houses, a cupola, and a minaret, rise above the rest; afterwards its fortifications are distinguishable, in a sea-front with embrasures, behind which is a Saracenic wall with battlements.

We entered the port of Acri on the 7th of September, through a ruined mole, at the end of which is an insulated tower and light-house; between this and the mole vessels of burthen are obliged to pass; small craft enter outside the mole, and may moor close to the walls. I remained two hours on board, waiting for the captain of the port to awake and grant permission to land. As soon as this was obtained I went to the residence of the English vice-consul, whose apartments were in a large *bkellah*, inhabited by the different consulates and principal Franks of the town. There I had a room given me: yet, though I was treated with great hospitality, I regretted I did not take advantage of a letter to the convent from that in Jerusalem; for I soon found that my host considered himself ill used by the British government, from not being allowed a salary.

The remembrance of the gallant resistance of Djezzar Pasha to Buonaparte had excited my curiosity to see this celebrated place; I took the earliest opportunity of going

through the town and examining its exterior. I had no inclination to visit the reigning Pasha, whose favour would only have been shown by a permission to enter the principal mosque; for which, I learnt, the attendants would require a much larger sum than I was disposed to give.

The town stands on a point of low land, is much smaller than I had supposed, irregularly and meanly built, though most of the houses are of stone: none of the mosques are remarkable except the principal one above mentioned; this is large, its roof formed by a handsome cupola, surmounted by one very lofty minaret. It was built by Djezzar, and is rich in marbles. Near the mosque are the seraglios of the Pasha and his prime minister and favourite, Ali; which are distinguished only by the extent of blank wall surrounding them. The bazars were filled with shops, and much crowded in the early part of the morning. The number of inhabitants about five thousand.

The government of the Pasha, who is named Soliman, extends to Beirutte on one side and to Gaza on the other, and comprehends the countries in an encircling boundary line to Nazareth and Tiberias. He was a slave and favourite of Djezzar; who, when the latter was made Pasha of Damascus, employed him as his lieutenant. He enriched himself in this station, and procured his present dignity by money. He is considered a quiet inoffensive man, governed

by his sons and minister, but has an army of eight thousand men at his disposal.

Every traveller who visits Acrid hears some additional story of the cruelty of Djazzar. It is terrible to think how man can treat his fellow. The number of faces without noses and ears, strikes every one who has visited this part of Syria: yet, even after this punishment, it was no uncommon thing for him to keep men in his employment: of this there is a remarkable instance in the person of the richest Jew at Acrid, whom I saw; he exercised some office of trust in his service, and continues still to do so in the seraglio of the present Pasha.

Though what I am about to relate was told me at Cyprus, yet, as I heard the story from the person who was our vice-consul at Acrid when it took place, its truth may be confided in, and it may with propriety be introduced here. Djazzar had reason to suspect fraud in the conduct of some of the officers of his seraglio; and, as he could not discover the offenders, he had between fifty and sixty of them seized, stripped naked, and laid on the ground, and to each placed a couple of janissaries, who were ordered to hew them in pieces with their swords. This execution was seen by the relater, and described with every aggravation of horror that may be supposed attached to such an event. Yet the barbarian who caused the execution died in his bed!

I do not mean to depreciate the merits of the gallant defenders of the breach at Acri, when I mention, that some of the inhabitants who were present when it was besieged by the French, seemed to think that the last attempts of Buonaparte to storm the place were frustrated by the treachery or disaffection of some officers in command upon that attack, who were ordered to meet and mutually support each other at the head of their respective columns, after they had succeeded in forcing the breach. One column penetrated into the gardens of the seraglio, where Djezzar was, and not being supported by the others, was cut in pieces: the latter were obliged to retreat. On this Buonaparte decided on abandoning his enterprise. The Christians with whom I talked on the subject, said they were only waiting for the capture of Acri to rise in his favour: the whole of Syria would have then joined him, to the entire subversion of the Turkish government in that part of the world. The assertions of people after so long an interval of time, are, however, always to be received with caution; yet the importance attached to the possession of Acri is so great, that no European power will ever be considered master of Syria till that town is captured. The details of the expedition of Buonaparte in the *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, give every reason to suppose he would not have made such sacrifices unless the capture of the place was to ensure extraordinary advantages.

I hired mules at Acri, and, attended by a single mōcarri, or muleteer, and my servant, set out for Nazareth on the 9th of September, through a plain partly marsh and partly pasture. In two hours and a half we gained, by a gently rising ground, the summit of a range of hills covered with the Turkish oak ; and afterwards descended into the plain of Sephora, which is wide and beautiful, being laid out in pasture, and in the cultivation of tobacco and cotton, then in full bloom, and enclosed on all sides by mountains. In the centre of this plain a band of herdsmen, armed with muskets, were watering their cattle in a large stone reservoir*, and were disposed to make me pay a caphar ; this, however, I resisted, on the strength of being an Englishman, which satisfied them, and they allowed me to pass. From this plain we ascended a hill, where is situated the village of Sephora, through plantations of figs and olives ; whence by a descent we entered another plain, and then ascended to the hill of Nazareth, from the top of which we looked down on the village of that name, rising with the side of the hill.

I was taken to the convent, situated at the bottom of the

* The fountain of Sephoury, probably that where the kings of Jerusalem, during the holy war, encamped their armies, on account of the great plenty of water and herbage that there is about this place ; and it is particularly mentioned in the siege of Acri. See Pococke.

village. It is a neat building, enclosed by walls; and, at that time, inhabited by only ten or twelve monks. It is said to be the place where the Virgin's house; now at Loretto, stood previous to its miraculous removal. On presenting my letters to the procurator, or treasurer, a room was appointed for me; a tolerable dinner and good wine served up, with the additional luxury of cleanliness. I was visited by two or three Italians, who soon showed me there were *commérages* in religious as well as civil societies. Our conversation ran on the old subject of the unfortunate separation of England from the church of Rome; and a new one added, that since we had done so much for the Pope, alluding to the offer of money by Lord William Bentinck to that sovereign, in the name of the Prince Regent, we should complete our work of goodness, by reuniting under his paternal guidance. They prayed Heaven, in addition to the miracles already performed, to work our conversion by miraculous means.

The inhabitants of Nazareth are chiefly Christians of the Greek and Maronite persuasion, the latter acknowledging the Pope. The Mahometans are least in number; each has a sheik. A detachment of cavalry insures the preponderance of the Mahometans; which was evinced in a most cruel manner a short time before my arrival, occasioned by a dispute between a Greek and Mahometan woman, where the latter having reviled the religion of the former, the retort was

made by her abusing the prophet ; which being told to the Pasha of Acri, an order came for the Greek to be delivered to the Turkish soldiers ; who, after having subjected her to every indignity, put her to death.

I have not much reason to respect any of the native inhabitants of Nazareth, whose manners denoted a barbarity and rudeness greater than I had expected. I attempted to make sketches ; but was so beset by the Greeks and Mahometans, that I was fain to make a precipitate retreat to the convent, where I was recommended to abstain from drawing again. The opprobrious epithets, Giaour and Franky Cocu, were applied to me in every direction ; and I had more than once to shelter myself from a shower of stones. I contented myself with seeing the holy places, which are as doubtfully marked out here as at Jerusalem, though with seeming confidence. I could not help being shocked, when taken by one of the Latin monks to the site of the shop kept by Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, where our Saviour is supposed to have been employed in selling the articles made by that person.

A chapel stands on this place ; as also another on the site of that where stood the Synagogue, in which Jesus explained the prophecy of Isaiah relating to himself*.

* St. Luke, chap. iv. ver. 17, 18, and following.

Not far from this is another chapel, enclosing a large piece of rock, whose surface has been rendered smooth and level, large enough to allow a dozen people to sit round it. This is described, in Latin and Italian, as the place of our Saviour's last supper with the disciples, previous to their departure with him from Nazareth to Jerusalem*.

Outside the village is shown the place where the multitude would have thrown our Saviour down the brow of a hill†.

I quitted Nazareth on the following morning, the 10th, for Tiberias, called Tabaria, having procured a guide and horses in the village; and, for the first time, left my canteens behind me, which I had afterwards reason to regret, being ill supplied with provisions and utensils for the journey. We took the road for Mount Tabor, and arrived at the foot of it in about two hours, having been nearly the whole of the way in a wood of Sindiaf or Turkish oak, whose acorn differs from the common one by growing in a tufted pod. We ascended the north-west side, which seems less isolated than the other parts of the mountain; continuing through thickets of the above named tree, till we arrived at the summit, in about an hour and a half. The only habitations perceptible

* In the time of Pococke, this appears to have been in a quarry.

† St. Luke, iv. 29.

are in a small hamlet, nearly at the bottom of the hill, in the plain of Esdraelon, called Debora. The place of transfiguration of our Saviour, according to the authority of St. Jerome, was pointed out to me in my ascent.

I was amply repaid for my labour by the scene presented to me from the summit of the mountain; this is flat, includes a plain of about a mile and a half in circumference, where much of the walls and towers built by Josephus still remain in massy ruin*

The extraordinary shape of Mount Tabor is best observed from its summit, whence it appears quite isolated from the rest of the country, like a truncated cone, of a considerable height above the neighbouring mountains. These are laid down by Pococke thus: those of Engedda and Samaria to the south; to the north-east Mount Hermon, beneath which lay Nain and Endor. To the north are the mountains of Gilboah, so fatal to Saul; and of the 'Beatitudes, where our Saviour's sermon was delivered to the multitude, and near which the multitude were miraculously fed. The sea of Tiberias is clearly discovered towards the north-east, terminated by Mount Hermon, covered with perpetual snow. Mount Carmel is to the south-west, and conceals the Mediterranean from view.

* See chapter vi. book iv. Wars of the Jews.

The extent of plain at the foot of Mount Tabor is varied : that of Esdraelon, on the south, is at least twenty miles in length, to the foot of Mount Carmel ; is enclosed on all sides by mountains, in a breadth of ten miles : not a house or tree is to be discovered in it, yet the whole appears to be cultivated. It now bears the name of Fooli, and has been celebrated in modern times by the victory which Murat gained over the Mamelouks and Arabs, in their attempt to relieve Acri*, in April, 1799.

* The interest excited in overlooking an extent of country, whose name and situation must be familiar to the reader from holy writ, can be more easily conceived than expressed. I confess I wished for some companion to share my enthusiasm, whilst contemplating the scene before me. Its extent was too great to attempt its delineation, in the short space of time I could afford to dedicate to it. I considered that nature could not have changed : tradition had handed down the places as well as events ; and every thing I remembered of the history of the Jews, and of our Saviour's miracles, came quick before me.

The shapes of the mountains are peculiarly beautiful. The masses of light and shade were marked. There was a

* See Précis des E'vénemens Militaires, page 224, vol. ii.

depth of gloom, in the blue mountains of Nain and Endor, that made me conjure up the sorceress, whose incantations raised the departed prophet to foretell the destruction of Saul and his house. Towards the south and west, the tints of the mountains of Samaria and Carmel were light and airy. The Lake of Tiberias glistened in a silvery streak, beneath the sandy mountains rising above it; these showed their neighbourhood to the desert, yet were relieved by the snow of Mount Hermon; and the eye finally rested on the deep brown of the hill of Saphet, the last residence of the conquered Jews as a nation, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

After taking refreshment on Mount Tabor, in one of its ruined towers, we descended the south side, entered the plain of Saphet, crossed the high route of Damascus, where a small caravan of camels and travellers, on their way to that city, showed it was not entirely without commerce with the south, and arrived at a caravansera, whose name I forgot, but which appeared intended for defence as well as for the reception of travellers, and was inhabited by a few hardy looking Syrians. We then descended into a plain of considerable extent, where was a small hamlet; afterwards into a third plain, beneath which lay the town of Tiberias, whose lake, as well as the town, burst suddenly on our view, when we arrived at the end of the plain, in about six hours from Mount Tabor. The country through which we had passed is

open, not a tree to be seen, but pretty generally cultivated, and the soil rich. A solitary antelope, or a groupe of Syrians, now and then crossed us; both seemed equally surprised by our approach. The former, having gazed eagerly at us, bounded away with all the swiftness and grace for which that animal is celebrated. I could not consent to the repeated requests of my guide and mocarri, to use my musquet against those we saw.

The first appearance of Tiberias is exceedingly picturesque: it is situated at the edge of the lake, nearer the north than the south end of the west side. Its houses are scattered irregularly within its walls. The minarets of two or three mosques, intermixed with cypress, groupe well with the neighbouring cupolas. The lake washes the lower part of the town, and had, when I saw it, a deep blue tint. Its opposite shore is confined by bold barren precipitous rocks, and hills of sand-stone. The course of the river Jordan is traced into the lake at the north end, and again appears winding into a slow narrow stream from the south. Its length, according to Pococke, is fifteen miles, and breadth three or four; but I doubt whether it is so much.

Nothing denoted the existence of living beings near it, except the houses; not a single inhabitant to be seen, nor a boat on the lake. I afterwards understood the only remaining boat had been destroyed in a storm, a short time before

my arrival. Of the towns celebrated in the New Testament, as bordering on the lake, there are no traces left. A small hamlet at the south end, called Summak, (the Arabic word for fish), is the only place, besides Tiberias, where the population has a fixed residence. It is inhabited by fishermen. The Arabs of the desert command the country beyond the lake. Their inroads into the territories of the Pasha are checked by encampments of Arabs, paid to remain on the frontiers for that purpose; one of which I saw at a distance, on the south-west of the lake, on the borders of the Jordan.

My inhospitable reception at Nazareth was compensated at Tiberias, where, though an object of great curiosity to many, who had never seen a Frank in Frank dress before, yet I was not molested.

There was little to interest in a town which seemed almost abandoned, and whose subsistence was precarious; yet the reflection that many of the miracles of our Saviour took place in its neighbourhood, could not but occupy my mind.

The only place I could obtain for my lodging was a small chapel, said to be built on the spot where St. Peter lived, to which all the Christians flocked on my arrival. The priest of the Greek persuasion supplied me with provisions; for them I paid dearly. A mat was procured; it was to be my bed. Towards the evening, whilst sketching a mosque, I

was surrounded by some of the Mahometans; but though interrupted in my labours by their questions, yet they were made in a friendly manner; mine were answered civilly. I was considered Hakeem, a physician, and many offers were made to induce me to stay amongst them. I was obliged afterwards to visit the *aga*, who formed his *divan* in an open shed near the gate of the town. After examining my *firman*, he bade me welcome, and expressed his surprise at my travelling alone in a Frank dress: mine was equally excited by seeing the Syrian inhabitants approach him with familiarity and looks of regard.

The population of the town may be estimated at a thousand, the greatest part of which are Jews or Christians: these are increased by numerous pilgrims at Easter, who come to eat the fish of the lake, and to proceed to the Jordan, there to purify themselves of their sins by immersion into its waters; and by patients, who are brought at particular seasons to use the waters of the hot sulphuric baths, about a mile to the south of the town on the lake. This has a fine gravelly bottom, and supplies great quantities of fish, though caught only in small casting-nets used by fishermen, whom the shallowness of the water enables to wade a considerable distance from the shore. *

As I was not induced to accept the offers made me to remain at Tiberias, I left it early the following morning, the

11th of September, coasted the lake, trod the ground celebrated for the miracle of the unclean spirit driven by our Saviour amongst the swine. The tombs still exist, in the form of caverns, on the sides of the hills that rise from the shore of the lake ; and, from their wild appearance, may well be considered the habitation of men "exceeding fierce," possessed by a devil. They extend at a distance for more than a mile from the present town. The hot baths are enclosed in a mosque-like building, are tolerably clean, and seem taken care of: the water runs from the baths in a strong sulphuric stream into the lake, leaving a yellow incrustation on the stones over which it passes. Above the baths, ascending the side of the hill, is the best point for taking a view of the town and surrounding scenery, which I found out too late, as, having little time to spare, I delayed doing so till I arrived at the Jordan, an hour and a half afterwards, hoping to find one grand general view ; but I was disappointed, and lost the opportunity of adding an interesting sketch to my collection.

The appearance of a dyke at the south end of the lake evinced the occurrence of inundation ; but I saw no one whom I could question on that subject:

The Jordan at this time seemed almost as stagnant as the lake ; is muddy ; flows in a breadth of about thirty feet, amidst reeds and rushes. I regaled myself, in an excessively

hot morning, with coffee made from its stream. It is described as flowing in a torrent into Lake Asphaltus, which is considerably lower than that of Tiberias, at the distance of about sixty miles. It appeared motionless as far as my eye could range, but winding excessively. The Arab encampment before mentioned was on the other side of the Jordan, in a wide extended plain, enclosed by a continuation of the mountains on the other side of the lake, and by those of the range under which Tiberias stands: this plain was cultivated, and seemed to have a rich soil. •

The ruins of a causeway of masonry, bearing marks of great antiquity, are to be traced along the side of the lake I had passed; a stone bridge crosses the river at the place where it issues from the lake.

From this point we began to ascend the hills above Tiberias to the plains, and retraced our route of the day before as far as Mount Tabor, which we left to the south; then traversing a wood of large Sindian or Turkish oak, arrived at Nazareth, which I quitted for Acri on the following morning, the 12th; whence I took passage in a rice-boat, on the 13th, for Seida and Beirutte. We anchored at the former place on the 14th, having passed, in the course of the day, the site of ancient Tyre, now called Sur, which has still the appearance of an island.

Seida, the ancient Sidon, is a considerable town; is built

of stone, and extends in a straggling way along the shore. A small river, called Damoor, flowing on the north, supplies an aqueduct which irrigates the gardens in that direction, and furnishes the town itself with good water. The gardens are extensive, and consist chiefly of orange and other fruit-trees. The chain of Mount Libanon begins in the rear of the town, and retires apparently at right angles with the sea. Remains of the ancient harbour still exist to the south; and, according to the opinion of the French consul, might be made capable of receiving large vessels. Coasting vessels now anchor in tolerable safety behind a ridge of rocks, cut perpendicularly away on the side nearest the town, about six or seven hundred yards from it. The approach to this ridge, which seems to run under water to the south of the town, is dangerous.

I could not land till the 15th, when I was detained by the Beiram. The only consul was that of France. I claimed his protection, and was hospitably and kindly received. I made an excursion to the north of the town, approached the hills, and was shown some remains of ancient tombs, but of little or no interest. The peasantry were invariably civil. The French alone had the privilege of keeping a consul at Seida. By this the commerce in silk was entirely confined to the French factory, at that time very inconsiderable, but capable of much increase.

It may seem presumptuous for me to hint at the advantage the French government derives from having accredited agents, who are Frenchmen, on the coast of Syria. Their salaries, though not sufficient to induce an Englishman of talents to banish himself from his country, yet are enough for them, comparing the wealth of their country with ours.

The agents for England on the coast of Syria and Cyprus, at Damietta and Rosetta in Egypt, with the exception of those at Acrida and Larnica, are natives: at Larnica, the vice-consul is a native of Zante; at Acrida, a Genoese. The information that might be obtained would be worth the expense of appointing Englishmen to these situations, who would influence the conduct of the agas and chiefs in that country, and encourage a preference to English commodities. The agents for France are generally *anciens militaires*; and I do not see why English officers should not be found capable and willing to support the commercial interests of the country, while their experience as soldiers would enable them to give political information.

Amongst the articles imported into Syria and Egypt, the German cutlery and coarse cloths, and the French super-fines, seemed completely to expel ours. With regard to the respect in which the Turks hold the Syrian agents, it is enough to say, that not very long ago the aga of Beirutte was about

to have the bastinado inflicted on an English lieutenant-colonel for some supposed offence, which no remonstrance on the part of the English agent would have hindered ; it was only by flight the former escaped the indignity threatened. I was myself obliged to come to a determined issue with the aga of Beirutte then in command, who wished to prevent me from visiting the prince of the Druzes ; on which I desired the consul to ask him whether England was at war or peace with the Grand Signor ? If at war, it was his duty to take me prisoner ; if at peace, as I was furnished with a firman from Constantinople, I required and insisted to be allowed to go where I pleased. This had the wished for effect ; the vice-consul put the question trembling, and permission was given me to make the excursion at my pleasure.

I left Seida on the 16th, and embarked, saluted from the mole with a few exclamations of " Giaour !" and other contemptuous words ; and sailed for Beirutte during the night. In the morning I found myself near a range of beautifully shaped hills, under which we continued our course till we anchored in the road of Beirutte. The town, even from the sea, had a busy appearance : its houses were close together ; the inhabitants in motion along the shore. Two or three small vessels on the stocks in the neighbourhood, and several of different sizes in the road, bespoke trade. Its environs, con-

finned by the lofty mountains rising above it, are enriched by foliage and cultivation.

I landed near two square towers which protect the entrance to the town: one is isolated on a rock; the other is joined to the shore by a causeway on unequal sized arches, through which the sea flows. A great crowd assembled on the beach to see me land: the Frank occupied the attention of every person. I became an object of suspicion to the aga, who endeavoured to quarrel with me, for not having immediately come to pay my respects: my baggage was seized; and it was not till the vice-consul explained that it was customary for travellers to announce their arrival to their agents, that it was allowed to leave the shore.

I suffered more inconvenience at Beirutte in my choice of an abode than I had elsewhere experienced. A letter which I had to the Capuchin Hospitium, ensured me a room in their okellah, where I found two miserable monks, one a Frenchman, in the extreme weakness of age, the other a Corsican. The dirty and uncomfortable appearance of their abode was so great, that I was easily persuaded to accept the pressing offers of the vice-consul and his son to come to their house, on the plea that it was lowering them in the eyes of the Turks to refuse their invitation. From that moment, except during my excursion to Mount Libanon, to the time of my embarkation for Cyprus, I was subject to the constant interruption, noise, and dirt of their house,

and was nearly starved from agreeing to live in their manner.

My firman was narrowly examined by the aga, whose conduct seemed influenced by the suspicion of my being a spy : this, indeed, was the general idea of the natives, and even on board my rice-boat I was reproached by the rais for using my telescope towards the walls of the town. After an hour's deliberation in the divan I was permitted to leave it, and retire to the consul's house, where I had the regret to find my servant labouring under a violent degree of fever, and every symptom I had before had an opportunity of observing of the plague. My feelings were excited by considering that the family with whom I had established myself would probably fall a sacrifice to the disease ; and I did not quite forget the danger to which I was myself exposed. I had no time for deliberation, and therefore applied such medicines as I thought would speedily give relief, and happily found that my alarm at plague was groundless ; after two days the fever left him, and I was able to think of Mount Libanon. In the mean time, I took opportunities of visiting the town, once celebrated for its science, its riches, and its size*. It is still considerable, and was, till very

* See Pococke, p. 476, Pinkerton's collection. The city of Beirutte is the ancient Berytus†. Augustus, when he made it a colony, called it after the

† See Josephus.

lately, part of the territory of the Prince of the Druzes, from whom it was wrested by Djézzar*, who, though its harbour was of great use to him, yet he allowed it to go to decay. The walls of the town are of ancient date, flanked with square towers at intervals, of no strength, but often form picturesque groupes with the foliage of the neighbourhood.

The bazars are large, the principal one a square filled with silks, the manufacture of Mount Libanon. The streets are narrow, as in other Turkish towns; the houses of brick, and some have even a respectable front, but generally in decay. The bazar attracted a busy concourse of people, and the mechanics, in their shops, appeared to work with industry. The chief population is Maronite, besides which there are Greeks, Jews, and Turks. The trade from Beirutte is wine, silks, raw and wrought, the produce of the mountain; and oil, from the olives of the plains between Seida and Beirutte, considered the best in Syria.

name of his daughter, with the epithet of Happy, calling it *Colonia felix Julia* †. This city was anciently a place of study, more particularly of the civil law, and especially about the time that Christianity began to be publicly established ‡.

* Volney, 2d vol. p. 157, English translation.

† In ora maritima etiamnum subjecta Libano fluvius Magoras. Berytus colonia quæ Felix Julia appellatur. Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 17.

‡ See the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius and Socrates.

The silks of Mount Libanon find a great sale through this place ; and, it may be concluded, they are either cheaper or better than those of France, Italy, or Spain, from the Moors thinking it more advantageous to speculate on the coast of Syria than nearer home. It was represented to me as coarser, but much stronger, than the silk of the European part of the Mediterranean.

The wines of Mount Libanon are perhaps equally luscious with those of Cyprus, and very cheap ; and, though not of use for our home consumption, yet might be worth exportation to other parts of the world. I can only conjecture in regard to the trade at Beirutte, by observing that the custom-house was always crowded ; and that there were Levantine brokers, under the title of Censales, ready to assist in making bargains between parties wishing to negotiate ; a description of men I had not before met with in Syria.

In the neighbourhood of the town, towards the north, remains still exist of Roman antiquities. A range of buildings, now converted into a rope-walk, is said to be that part of the amphitheatre of Augustus allotted for the reception of wild beasts. Roman coins, tiles, and other antiquities, are often found there. I confess I was unable to appreciate their merits, or draw conclusions from them. Pococke has entered more minutely into their description, and to him I refer the reader.

My residence at the vice-consul's was excessively disagreeable. His house, consisted of four very small rooms, round a court, to which was an ascent by a narrow flight of steps from the street. One of them served as a kitchen, two as sleeping rooms, the fourth for lumber, which I obtained for my servant. A large recess, open to the court, was used for a dining-room in the heat of the day; the evening meal was taken in the court.

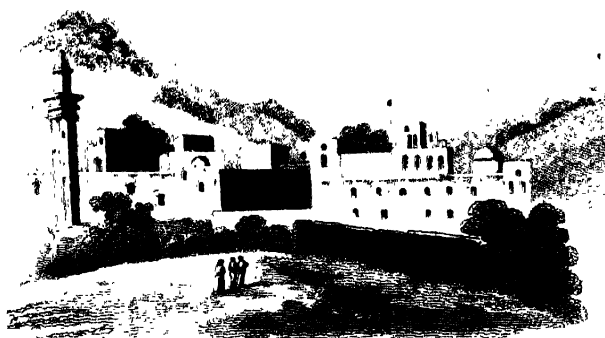
My host was a respectable smooth-tongued man of fifty, who acted as agent to the Prince of the Druzes, whose example he had lately followed of cultivating a long beard, by allowing his own to grow. He was a considerable merchant of the place, kept a warehouse on the sea-shore, which was under the charge of his eldest son, a young man of twenty years of age. His wife was a woman of nearly six foot high, and had been very handsome; the family besides consisted of three or four dirty children, a female servant from the mountain in the costume of her race, her child, an interpreter of the consulate under the name of Chancellor, and a son of one of the censales, who attached himself to me without ceremony on my first landing. I was by turns infested, during my stay at Beirutte, by all the above mentioned people. Amongst the female part of the establishment, I was called the "Franky;" plagued to death to make presents, and promises to send others; whilst the vice-consul

assailed me with importunate requests to apply to our ambassador at Constantinople, to obtain more powerful protection from the taxation to which he was exposed. The interpreter interrupted my quiet, by pressing me to read the letters of thanks and service he had received from our commanders on the coast of Syria; whilst the son of the censale remained eyeing my occupations with some degree of suspicion, and amused himself by playing with his naked feet on my bed. I thought the temptations of St. Anthony were come on me, and I should have been very well pleased to have been able to return to the habitations of the monks.

With regard to living, I was worse off now than I had yet been: my servant was ill, and could not cook for me. The dinners of the family consisted of rice, on which was chopped small pieces of meat, seasoned with spices, and stuffed into the inside of the cocuzzo, a sort of gourd, or into the egg plant; cheese and bread were added to the wine of Mount Libanon, and dinner finished by a dessert of watermelon and grapes. On my requesting meat, a small slice was cut off a lump of that article, which lay in the kitchen; and having been burnt at the fire at the end of a skewer, was pulled off into my plate by the dirty fingers of my hostess, who waited at table, and ate the remnants with her children and servants. The eldest son always remained standing at the table, till his father desired him to seat him-

self. Fortunately, my servant's health did not permit him to take any thing but tea and weak liquids, which I was able to furnish him.

Though it was evident I was invited to the vice-consul's house from interested motives, yet he endeavoured to accommodate me as much as lay in his power. All his family huddled together in one room; the other was allotted to me. It looked on the Roman ruins above alluded to, and on part of the sea, which the high extended chain of Mount Libanon formed into a wide bay; the intermediate ground was garden and pasture. In two days I was relieved from apprehension of danger in my servant's illness, and prepared to make my excursion to "Deir-el-Kamr, the City of the Moon," the residence of the prince of the Druzes.



DEIR EL-KAMR

CHAPTER VI.

Ascent of Mount Libanon—Turkish encampment—Superiority of inhabitants of the mountain to those of the plain—Dress of Maronites and Druzes—Cultivation—Scenery—Arrival at Deir-el-Kamr—Delay at entrance of town—Remarks on Druzes—Description of Deir-el-Kamr—Visit to Eddin, the palace of the emir of the Druzes—Interview with that prince.

ON the 18th of September I left Beirutte, accompanied by the eldest son of the vice-consul and that of the censale, on mules, having been detained till near the middle of the day in search of them. We passed through an encampment of Turkish cavalry, on their route to Damascus, from their late

campaign. Their commander amused himself by exercising hawks, who seemed in perfect training. The encampment was in a space of ground in the rear of the town, intermixed with plantations of stone-pine, which, combined with the gay apparel of the horsemen, and the ornamented and varied coloured tents, formed a groupe admirably calculated for a picture. The road then lay through a lane of aloes, into another plantation of lofty stone-pines; thence, by enclosures of mulberry trees, at the foot of Mount Libanon, which the peasantry took great pains to irrigate with the stream flowing from the mountain. I soon began to observe a difference in the race of beings who inhabited the mountains, from the oppressed slaves of the Turkish chiefs, whose authority ceased with the plain.

On ascending the mountain, houses, convents, and hamlets every where presented themselves; we passed vineyards, plantations of mulberry, olive, and fig trees, cultivated on terraces formed by walls, which supported the earth from being washed away by the rains from the sides of the acclivities. The road, though steep, was not bad; neat caravanseras, where coffee and fruit were sold, invited the passenger to repose under the shade of some full branched tree. The peasants had an air of kindness mixed with independence, that bespoke the absence of oppression*. The Ma-

* "Whilst amid these mountains," says Volney, "I forgot I was in Turkey;

ronite was distinguished by his conical cap, ornamented with a tassel hanging over the side of his turban ; his dress varied in its colours ; and, if possessed of wealth, his sash contained a silver handled dagger and silver mounted pistols. The Druze, more simple, was distinguished by his full turban, differing from those of the other parts of the East, by being swelled out from the head into a shape resembling a common turnip, and flat at top ; his dress a coarse woollen cloak, or beneesh, of black with white stripes, thrown over a waistcoat and loose breeches of the same stuff, tied round the waist by a sash of white or red linen with fringed ends. The females, of both Maronites and Druzes, appeared in a coarse blue jacket and petticoat, without stockings, their hair plaited, hanging down in long tails behind. On their heads they wore a tin or silver conical tube, about twelve inches long, and perhaps twice the size of a common post-horn* ; over which was thrown a white piece of linen, that completely enveloped their body, and gives a most singular and ghost-like appearance†.

or, if I recollected it, only felt more sensibly the powerful influence of even the feeblest ray of liberty." Page 279, vol. i. English translation.

* Psalm lxxv. ver. 4 and 5. "I said unto the fools, Deal not so madly ; and to the ungodly, Set not up your horn. Set not up your horn on high, and speak not with a stiff neck."

† Neither Dandini, Volney, nor Pococke, speak of the dress of the Druzes. The former does not mention them at all, and appears to have intended to de-

Having advanced for about two hours, we refreshed at a well, called Ain-el-Sabr; where a cottage served as an inn, whose owner offered refreshments to us. We took coffee, fruit, eggs, cheese, and becca ficas, i. e. ortolans, under the shade of a wide spreading Sindian tree. A cup of coffee was thrown at my feet, as a token of respect, by the keeper of the inn, for which an additional present was expected in return. We again proceeded up the mountain, striking off

scribe the state of obedience of the Maronites to the pope*. Dandini, p. 291, mentions the dress of Maronite women, but not their present costume.

* Dandini, p. 289, in Pinkerton's 10th vol. speaking of the Maronites, says, "the Maronites will not suffer the Turks to live amongst them, although they be in all the rest of Syria, so that you cannot see one there. They are beholden to it to the great care of their deacons, who spare neither their purses nor their lives to that purpose. There live, therefore, upon the mountains no other than the Christians, which they call Maronites, who have taken their name from a certain abbot called Maron, whom they sent to Rome to the pope, in the time that all the East was separated from the holy see, and divided it into divers sects. This abbot retired from thence with the title of Patriarch over them, who lived firm and constant in their faith †."

† Volney, page 8, vol. ii. English translation, says, "Towards the end of the 6th age of the church, a hermit of the name of Maroun lived on the banks of the Orontes, who, by his fasting, his solitary mode of life, and his austerities, became much respected by the neighbouring people. It seems, that in the disputes which at that time arose between Rome and Constantinople, he employed his credit in favour of the western Christians; from him came the Maronites ‡."

‡ They still acknowledge the pope; and their only difference from the western Roman Catholics is, that their Missal is in Arabic. The mountain of Libanon affords a refuge to all the East who wish to profess their religion without restraint.

to the south-west, by the side of a range of hills, abounding with myrtle in full bloom, that spread their fragrance round, through plantations of olives, mulberry, and sycamore; to which were attached vines, twining themselves round the branches, or hanging in festoons, as in the Florentine states of Italy. We passed the villages Ain el Anb and Ain el Anoob, where the peasantry seemed fully occupied: we then descended into a valley, by a bad and almost impassable road, formed into deep steps by the rains, and by constant passage of mules and travellers. The scene was for a short time barren, and even trees were distant from us; we, however, arrived at cultivation on coming to a second range of hills, which we crossed through thickets of myrtle, woods of fir, walnut trees, carobs, or locust trees, and Turkish oak, or Sindian; and descended to the source of the river Damoor, whose course is to be traced through a deep romantic ravine into the plain of Seida, whence it flows winding into the sea to the north of the town. We crossed by a stone bridge over this river, which rushed through a rocky bed in a rapid stream; and ascended again a high range of mountains, from whose summit there is a grand and extensive view of the coast of Syria and the Mediterranean Sea. I enjoyed this prospect at sunset, and was obliged to continue the remainder of the road in the dark, moving eastwards to the entrance of the district of Deir el Kamr. On arriving at this

town, I found to my mortification that orders had been given to cut off the communication with the exterior towards Beirut, on account of the existence of the plague on that part of the coast. It was necessary to send to the palace of the emir or prince, still two hours distant, for permission to enter; luckily a small hovel afforded me shelter from the cold dewy air of the night. I alighted, sent off a messenger, and waited patiently for his return.

Though the orders of the emir were obeyed, in as much as I was prevented from entering the town, yet the inhabitants flocked around me: my hovel was filled with people, and I could not persuade them that the object of the precautions used was now done away by their communication with me. They appeared happy under their present ruler, and civilized, in comparison with other Eastern people I had met with; were not troublesome in their curiosity, and talked of Europeans with regard.

To attempt giving an account of the religion of the Druzes would be presumption. The Maronites replied to my questions respecting them by saying they were divided into *aallem* and *jahel**, initiated and uninitiated, or rather

* The followers of Pythagoras were divided into two classes; those who had made a certain progress were admitted about his person, and with them he used plain and natural language; but to the rest, who were separated from him by

learned and ignorant. They are by necessity in the latter class to the age of twenty-one; after which, if they choose, they become initiated into mysteries which none but themselves know. It is in vain to surmise what they only are acquainted with, and whom superstitious reverence would of course prevent from unfolding their secret.

The Maronites seemed to laugh at the religion of the Druzes; said they went to mosque once a year, and prostrated themselves according to the Mahometan religion; and, during the rest of the year, few were seen to perform any religious rite. They mentioned that a certain number of the initiated met in a place of worship in the mountains; but what took place there was quite unknown.

Volney* enters more largely into an account of their

a curtain, he spoke in metaphors and symbols. Vide Crauford on the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 19, 2d edition.

* Volney, p. 72, vol. ii. English translation, says, "They engaged the attention of Europe about the end of the 16th century. In their mode of life, form of government, language, and customs, they bear a striking resemblance to the Maronites. Religion constitutes the difference between them. That of the Druzes long a problem; but the mystery is at length unveiled." He proceeds to say, that in the year of the Hegira 386 (A. D. 996), the third caliph of the race of the Fatmites, called Hakem-b'amr-ellah, succeeded to the throne of Egypt; and, after extraordinary enormities, was supported by an impostor, called Mahommed ben Ismael, in an attempt to cause a belief of his being God himself. They fall

history and religion; and Pococke describes them as a remnant of Israel, who fled the wrath of Moses after the destruction of the molten calf, which is still said to be an object of their worship. It was an agreeable thing to see Christianity again take the lead in a Mahometan region of the East; and I could observe a marked superiority in the style and manners of the Maronites over the Druzes.

The town of Deir-el-Kamr was supposed to contain five thousand inhabitants, chiefly Maronites, who carried on considerable manufactures of silks for vests: very little tribute was paid for the ordinary expenses of the country, as the emir possessed lands affording him an ample revenue for all his wants in peace. In time of war, his signal, repeated by fires lighted on the mountains, was communicated with the other parts of his principality, and in the space of a very few hours thirty thousand men armed with musquets could be assembled. The specimen I saw of the

a victim to popular fury; but a disciple of the latter, named Hamza ben Ahmud, propagated his opinions with an indefatigable zeal in Egypt, in Palestine, and along the coast of Syria, as far as Sidon and Berytus. His proselytes, it seems, underwent the same fate as the Maronites, and were obliged to take refuge in Mount Libanon; and thence come the Druzes: and it appears they got this name from the surname of their founder, Mahommed ben Ismael, being El Dorzi.

peasantry led me to suppose that half that number would be a formidable obstacle to any invading army. The successes of Djezzar Pasha were attributed to the unsettled state of parties; as three competitors in the same family, brothers or near relations, assumed the authority in the district of Mount Libanon at that time, by which the strength of the country was divided, and never united against the Turks; who, in consequence, obtained possession of the chief town, Deir-el-Kamr. The reigning emir had been baptized in his infancy, and in consequence was supported by the Maronites; and by their aid was enabled to crush his rivals, whose eyes were put out, according to the custom of the East; and they were allowed to live in an easy imprisonment, in one of the villages in the neighbourhood of Trablös, under the custody of a son of the emir. The information acquired on my first arrival was corroborated on further inquiry from the immediate attendants of the emir; I, therefore had not lost my time.

The order for my admission into the town at last came: I was to sleep at the Maronite convent, where I was taken by a long winding street. The monks, six in number, were still up when I arrived: their convent could have contained many more. I fared ill in a place where meat was never eaten: a couple of eggs, and some bad bread and cheese, were a poor supply of supper after my long ride. I had,

however, a good bed, and that sort of welcome which is given where a handsome return was expected. The monks spoke only Arabic ; and, like many other Levantines I had met with, would only take the trouble to understand me when their interest was concerned. • They talked much of their poverty, which certainly did not take away from their healthy appearance.

I retired to my bed, which consisted of a mattress laid on the ground, covered with a thin cotton of the manufacture of the country, over which was a silken coverlid, stuffed with wool and lined with the same sort of cotton, that served as upper sheet : I was surprised to find it clean. I slept comfortably ; rose early, and enjoyed the morning air in the balcony of the convent, which overlooked the gardens of the town and the opposite side of the valley. The cultivation here, as elsewhere in the mountainous parts I had passed, was on the acclivities terraced up by walls, to prevent the soil from being washed away. Mulberry and olive are the principal trees ; but the produce seemed scanty.

I traversed the unpaved streets of a long straggling town, which had much the appearance of a second-rate Italian borgo in the mountains. It had suffered greatly from the invasion of Djezzar. I was attracted by observing about twenty silk-loom^s at work in one of the squares of the town,

whose mechanism was of the simplest kind ; but each enabled one man to finish a piece of silk large enough for two Turkish vests in two days. I fancied much industry, and certainly saw there less of the misery of other Eastern towns.

My appearance in uniform of course attracted crowds of people, and it was in vain to try to avoid them : there was a respect, however, shown to the stranger not often manifested in the East. The buildings did not excite my desire to draw them : there was no scenery. I was content to yield to the curiosity of the crowd, and answered their questions to the best of my abilities. I endeavoured to persuade the women, whose singular costume I have described, to allow me to sketch their figures : they were alarmed at the idea of enchantment ; and even the men fled, from fear, when they saw me use my pencil.

About ten o'clock I set off for Eddin, the palace of the emir, situated at the head of a valley, upon an eminence facing the west. The road wound down the side of the valley on which the town stands, and then ascended the other, without much variety. The day was excessively hot : I had opened my umbrella to shade myself from the sun ; which being observed by a Druze peasant who passed me, he seemed surprised at this care of myself, and cried out, in a voice of contempt, " The shade is for women, not for

men." I could not help admiring the apparent sincerity with which he expressed himself, and acknowledged its force by shutting up my umbrella till he had got out of sight.

In an hour and a half I found myself at Eddin, where I saw some attempts at Italian architecture. The top of the hill, on which the palace stood, had been levelled to form a square; at each corner rose an oblong pavilion. The north and east were connected by a range of buildings; a wall formed the west front: the entrance gate was in the south. Under the west side were the stables of the emir, where he had about fifty horses. In the centre of the square was a fountain, whence water was carried by pipes to different parts of the building, and to which an aqueduct conducted a stream from a source at the distance of upwards of twenty miles. Beneath the walls of the square were terraced gardens, still in an unfinished state.

My arrival at Eddin was announced to the emir, and, after a long delay, which I passed amongst the officers, whose richness of apparel attracted my attention, I was admitted into his presence. My two companions followed as attendants; an officer of the emir led the way. The room in which the emir received me was a spacious oblong, divided into two compartments by a passage of five or six feet wide, paved with marble, and sunk about a foot from the level of the rest of the room. The door opened on this passage, a

window closed it. In the centre rose a fountain of marble, into which water gently flowed from a small aperture in the upper part. Both ends of the room were matted; broad cushions, covered with blue cloth, raised above the ground about the height of common chairs, surrounded the sides of the left compartment of the room, in which sat the emir. The other was hung round with the richest Cashmeer shawls in folding drapery, which crossed and occupied the whole breadth of that part of the room.

To complete this specimen of Eastern magnificence, which brought the "Arabian Nights" to my remembrance, the walls of the apartment were adorned with Arabic inscriptions, taken from the Koran and Scripture, written in a large and beautiful gilded character, embossed and in full relief, and enclosed in panels of various sizes, but not without attention to arrangement. Every ornament was finished in a manner I did not expect to see in an Eastern palace.

The emir sat alone on one side of the room; his officer stood mute in the centre passage: my attendants kissed his hand, and remained standing near the door. I was received by the emir with a gentle inclination of the head, and desired to seat myself on the opposite side, which I did in the European manner.

The first ceremonies being over, and pipes and coffee having been introduced, I desired one of my companions to

state, that the object of my visit was merely of ceremony and respect to the emir, whose name was familiar to most Englishmen; that having travelled through Syria for information, I could not lose the opportunity of presenting myself to the sovereign of so rich and industrious a part of the East; who, I understood, was not averse from receiving the visits of travellers. In reply, I was welcomed to Deir-el-Kamr, and offered a palace and subsistence, as long as I chose to remain there. Having after this endeavoured, in vain, to draw him into conversation about past events, I found it time to take my leave.

On quitting the presence of the emir, I was joined by a priest, who wore the European dress, who was confessor to the emir; an intelligent man, who had been bred up in Italy, and seemed biassed in favour of all the changes that had taken place under the dominion of Buonaparte: from this priest I was confirmed in the reports relative to the designs of the former on Acri, and of the consequences that would have ensued to the Turks from the capture of that town; and I could plainly perceive the French interest prevailed at Eddin.

The actual strength of the emir's troops was not calculated at more than five hundred men, though he could, as I have before observed, raise a large force; which, supposing the whole male population capable of bearing arms to obey

the signal for their assembly, would be thirty thousand men.

The conduct of the emir, in putting out the eyes of his rivals, was palliated. He had been averse from this mode of punishment, but obliged to consent, in consequence of the remonstrances of the principal men of his party. He paid tribute to the Pasha of Acri, and, when called on, furnished his quota of troops. In a late attack on a usurping Pasha of Bagdad, he had marched with six thousand horse and foot, who were considered the best soldiers in the army.

The emir was described as a man of mild disposition, continent, and inclined to domestic life. He drank no wine, ate but one meal, taken at mid-day, smoked as much as most Eastern people, and drank coffee in the same proportion. His employment was chiefly in improving his palace, built from his own plan. He had three sons, two of whom had governments in other parts of Mount Libanon; and one, a youth, remained at Eddin. His wife was alive; she sometimes made her appearance in the costume of the country, adorned with a golden horn on her head, enriched with precious stones, instead of the ordinary one of the other women of the mountain.

In the management of his affairs, the emir employed a Turk, a Maronite, and a Druze. The two former were

trusted with his domestic concerns, under the title of intendants. The Maronite was a haughty and supercilious personage; the Turk merry and familiar. He showed his respect for the Grand Signor, by begging me to produce my firman, which he put to his head, opened, and then kissed the imperial cipher, exclaiming, "Taweel omrhoo, Long life to him." Both these men had been many years attached to the emir, and were said to serve him faithfully. The Druze acted as chief judge, and was distinguished by a black robe and white turban.

The Maronite intendant took me into the south-west pavilion, considered a *chef d'œuvre*: its floor was of inlaid marble, a fountain rose in the centre; the walls inlaid with ivory and gilding, ornamented with Arabic inscriptions, of the same sort as those in the apartment of the emir.

During the time I was thus passing with the officers of the emir, he had been considering what present to make me. I had visited him unprovided with any to offer, a breach of Eastern etiquette I did not think of till too late, and should not be omitted by any traveller, who may be sure of a return equal, if not superior in value, to any thing he may present, though he is obliged to make an additional present to the attendants, of at least twenty dollars.

A message was sent to me by the emir, that he wished to give me a mark of his esteem; by presenting me with an

agate handled dirk of English manufacture. It was of trifling value, but it was absolutely necessary to offer some return. The only thing I could present was a neat pocket compass, whose value I enhanced, by begging the person who carried it to the emir to say, that as my visit to him was entirely accidental, I had not provided myself with any thing more worthy of his acceptance; yet, as I could not leave him without some token of respect, in return for his gift, I presented him with an instrument that had been of service to me in my travels, and might be of use to him in his; adding, that it would always point to the north, the quarter where he might be sure of finding friends if he wanted them. My present and my message were accepted in such good part, that I was desired to return again to the emir. The priest before mentioned accompanied me to the apartment. The guard and my attendants were dismissed, and we carried on a conversation on the affairs of Europe with much less reserve than in my first interview.

I was pressed to remain at Deir-el-Kamr as long as I chose; and was invited to return to Mount Libanon, where I might be certain of protection and hospitality.

The physiognomy of the emir was good; he was about fifty years of age, rendered older in appearance by a long beard. He was dressed in a rich vest of blue cloth, trimmed with ermine. The shawls he wore round his head and waist,

appeared of the most valuable kind. His title of address, "His Highness the Emir Bascir Sciab."

On my return to Deir-el-Kamr, I went to the palace intended for me. It was a low building, in the middle of the town, uninhabited, built in the Italian taste, and appropriated for the reception of those strangers whom the emir chose to honour. It consisted of a suite of large apartments of one story, connecting two small wings at right angles to them, containing offices and out-houses. Mats and pier-glasses, with remains of gilding and painting, composed its furniture and ornaments. Its windows were large, and looked upon the valley of Eddin.

Here I slept, and, fared ill, in spite of the order for my accommodation; but the intention was good, and my bad fare arose from the inattention of the emir's officers. I returned to Beirutte on the following morning, the 20th of September; again delighted by the flourishing aspect of the country, and by the contrast its inhabitants presented with those of the plains.



CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Beirutte to Cyprus—Larnica—La Scala; unwholesomeness of the marshy land in the neighbourhood—Prevailing sickness—Precautions against it—Physicians—Method of avoiding the effects of the “evil eye”—Visit to the archbishop—Inhabitants of Larnica—Produce of the island—Government—Excursion into the mountains—Convent of Sta. Thecla—Visit to that of the Holy Cross—Remarks on the means of traversing Cyprus and Asia Minor to Constantinople—Embark for Malta—Moorish merchants—Their remarks on bankruptcy—Strength of Morocco—Intercourse with Tombuctoo—Conduct towards slaves—Arrival at Malta.

ON my arrival at Beirutte, I found my servant recovered, and immediately turned my thoughts to departure. I took

a passage on board a ship bound for Constantinople. As she did not sail till the 23d, I still suffered from the ordeal before described at the vice-consul's house. My dislike to the whole party increased. The Corsican capuchin became my companion, and he accompanied me in my walks; where, however, I was obliged to use caution in my observations. A few hurried sketches were all I could undertake, though there is much to occupy an artist.

The Hospitium of the capuchins was distinct from the authority of the priests of the sanctuary of Jerusalem, having been established during the last century at Beirutte, through the devotion of a French archbishop; and was supported by his successors till the revolution, when it was deprived of all resource. The monks died off in great distress; his companion and himself were all that survived. They had subsisted by the profits arising from saying masses, and the charity of the Franks, of which there were still a few remaining of the French factory. Notwithstanding the misery to which the French revolution had brought them, Buonaparte was an object of admiration to them, from this principle, that the interest of civilisation in Syria would have been benefitted by his success in that country.

The vessel on board which I embarked was filled with passengers, chiefly Turks, bound to Constantinople: it was of considerable burthen, but without a cabin. It is impos-

sible to describe the state of confusion on board. There was no stowage for the passengers, who lay on the deck in all directions, and almost prevented the sailors from managing the vessel. I had endured much inconvenience in the last seven months, and on board the different coasting vessels had never been under cover; yet my patience had not been exhausted: here, however, it was lost; and, as I knew my voyage to Constantinople would occupy at least three weeks, I determined to disembark at Cyprus, where the vessel touched to take in provisions for the voyage; and accordingly, after three comfortless days and nights on board, I landed at Larnica* on the 26th of September, having seen the shore appearing on the east in a tract of low land, and on the west in a range of high mountains, the evening before.

Here, in expectation every day of obtaining a passage in a vessel where the accommodations would be better, I was detained three weeks; and was at last, from so much time having elapsed, obliged to give up the thoughts of my expe-

* Larnica, called by father Jerome D'Andini, "Arnique." See Pinkerton's collection, vol. x. p. 277. It appears to have been only a monastery, one mile distant from Salina (La Scala), of Franciscan monks, who lived there for the convenience of Italian monks.

dition, and determine on taking the first conveyance to Malta.

My residence at Larnica was not uninteresting. I had apartments in a detached pavilion of the vice-consul's, who was a Zantiot, and had amassed a considerable fortune from his office during the latter periods of the war, when every vessel coming to Cyprus bore the British flag.

Though Larnica gives the name to the road in which vessels anchor, yet it is distant from the shore nearly a mile, and is detached to the east from the town which may be called the port, and bears the name of La Scala*, about the same distance. This place contains the custom-house, and is the mart for trade. It consists of a long street, chiefly a bazar, where common necessities of life and articles of dress are sold; is inhabited by Greeks and Turks; the latter commonly employed in the affairs of the custom-house, the former in trade. The houses are low, built partly of mud and partly of stone, whitewashed.

The space between La Scala and Larnica is barren, as indeed is the greatest part of the plain at the foot of the

* Scale, term applied in the Levant factories, from Scala in the *Lingua Franca* dialect, or from the Turkish *Iskeli*; signifying literally ladder or stairs, and figuratively a commercial quay. Clarke, 1st vol. p. 716.

mountains, which for several miles east and west of La Scala is either uncultivated or marshy land, intersected by salt lakes. The foundations of an ancient town are often found between La Scala and Larnica. The effects of the marshy land are evinced in the countenances of the natives, who suffer every year from agues and fevers, that diminish the population, and regularly appear in the hot months of June, July, August, and September. When the Venetians had possession of the island, care was taken to drain the marshes and confine the water to the salt lakes, which produced an immense revenue; but, like all other sources of riches of the Turks, are neglected, though still productive enough to be a considerable article of trade.

Though the language of Cyprus is said to be more corrupt than of any other part of the East where Greek was once spoken, yet I could not but be pleased to hear ancient Greek words used for figs, cheese, and milk, by the market-people who passed me; and I was conducted to the vice-consul's house by a Cypriot, to whom I made use of an ancient Greek phrase, pronounced as the modern Romaic. On my arrival I was shown into a house fitted up in the European manner, though built partly in the Eastern style; and on presenting my letter of recommendation from Colonel Misset, and stating my determination to wait for another opportunity for Constantinople, was settled in the apartments

I have before alluded to : they had been occupied by Lieutenant-colonel Rooke, who had died at Baffa, the ancient Paphos, a few days before ; a gentleman whose memory seemed to be held in great respect at Cyprus, and whose inclination for travel had kept him for a long time in the East, where he lavished large sums in objects of research and in acts of generosity, endearing him to the natives of the countries he visited.

Thus settled at Cyprus, I was left to my own resources for employment, and obliged to remain at Larnica for the chance of any unforeseen occasion to quit it. I became one of the family of the vice-consul, and conformed to the unwholesome custom of making a heavy meal at mid-day. The mornings and evenings I passed alone.

I was often amused by the assumed dignity of the different representatives of European nations at Larnica, where the Austrian, Neapolitan, French, and Spanish consuls had their residence, and where etiquette of precedence was pushed to a degree not known in our own country. All except the French consul were engaged in trade ; and of course their own interest prevailed over that of the country they represented. The only English merchant on the island resided at La Scala : he had to contend with the united phalanx of Levantines, who had no inclination to admit a competitor in trade. An Englishman wishing to settle there will

be exposed to much opposition, and will only succeed by having large funds to meet every exigency to which he is liable. Much of the trade is contraband, particularly corn : and it is necessary to keep on good terms with the aga and officers employed at the custom-house by presents, the best and only means of ensuring favour in any competition with Levantines.

In the cemetery of the convent of St. Lazarus at La Scala, I saw the tombstones of English who formerly resided at Larnica ; but their date is not later than 1750.

The sickness that exists in the country during the hot months caused the presence of a vast number of medical men, whose abilities may be appreciated when the reader hears that one of the most eminent of them took me on one side to question me relative to the effects of James's powder, which I had recommended and given in a slight case of fever. I was asked, with great seriousness, whether it was not composed of pulverised cranium of the human head. It was a medicine not known except by report amongst them.

To guard against the effects of the *mal aria*, a European must leave the plains in the month of June, seek the mountains, and not quit them till October : without this precaution he must inevitably be seized with illness, and often is carried off by the fevers that rage with great violence during the hot months.

PART OF LARNICA, CYPRUS

Engraved by "Beach"

View by Klaprot





The superstition of the Levantines of this island may be imagined by my mentioning, that I observed the nurse who attended the consul's children burn incense under their nose every evening at sun-set, to prevent the effects of the evil eye. On my smiling at this ceremony, I was told it was common; perhaps, indeed, my presence, as a stranger, rendered it essential.

Larnica contains two or three wide streets, and has one mosque. The principal Levantines and Franks inhabit large houses in the outskirts of the town; amongst the most considerable is a palace of the archbishop of Cyprus; where, during my stay at Larnica, I went, on the occasion of some particular ceremony, to pay my respects to the archbishop. All the Franks and Levantines, under their respective consuls, were assembled. The canons of the church received them in an antechamber. Coffee and refreshments were handed about; and, as the archbishop had been taken suddenly ill, only a few of the principal visitors were introduced to him, amongst whom I was one. He was lying on a crimson bed of state, in full costume; and, if the length of beard was intended to add to dignity, his must have been increased for that purpose. He only spoke Romaic; but asked me some few questions by the help of his nephew, who had been studying medicine at Padua for some years, and seemed an intelligent young man; ardent in the pursuit

of science, and apparently very little pleased at being doomed to bury himself in such a place as Cyprus; where, he told me with a sigh, he should be obliged, in a year or two, to fix his residence.

The costume of the Franks is, for the men, generally that of Europe. The consuls have an uniform, which they make as rich as possible with embroidery. I saw them all in grand gala on the birth-day of the Emperor of Austria, whose consul received a visit of ceremony from all the others. The costume of the women is Greek, and almost similar to that which the late travels in Greece have rendered so familiar to all readers. The descendants of the Venetians still preserve their dialect, though purer Italian is spoken by many of the Franks.

This island, which is said to have been divided, in former days, into nine populous kingdoms, is now reduced to between eighty and ninety thousand inhabitants; which, according to common report, is daily diminishing. The produce of the island is still considerable in corn, wine, oil, and silks, notwithstanding its neglected state. A considerable quantity of salt is collected in the neighbourhood of La Scala, in an extensive lake into which the sea water passes. The salt is produced by simple evaporation from the rays of the sun, and collected in heaps at the east end. The north side is confined by rising ground, where is a beautiful mosque, built

in honour of one of Mahomet's relations. The mountains of the Holy Cross appear, to rise behind it. Towards sun-set, its rays, verging on the lake, produce a bright red, on which were reflected the figures of the carts, horses, and passengers, traversing it: this, combining with the mosque and the tints on the overhanging mountains, produced a beautiful picture.

The government is an appendage to the Captain Pasha, who vests it in the person of a mosallem or governor, nominally appointed for three years; the present one had, however, contrived to remain longer. The seat of government is at Nicosia, where the chief Turkish population resides. The island is divided into sixteen districts, each under a lieutenant, who bears the title of Cadelesquiere. The Grand Signor, at the commencement of a war, demands four hundred men from Cyprus, who form part of the Timariots. The Greeks are, as usual, oppressed. The dignitaries of the church are protected by the governor, who obtains contributions easily through their influence. They consist of one archbishop and three bishops: the former with an income of forty thousand dollars: the latter have much less; and, in an excursion I made for a day in the mountains, a return of money for hospitality shown was thankfully received by one of them.

The Roman Catholics have a considerable establishment

at Larnica. The convent of the Propaganda is a large building, where I should recommend travellers to endeavour to gain admission, as they will be more independent, and enabled by payment to make a recompence for the treatment they receive; which, however freely granted by the Levantine agents, yet is considered a tax on them; and they take care to let you understand the British government does not pay for it.

Unfortunately for me, so few military men had been seen as travellers in the East, that I was supposed employed by my government. I became an object of suspicion to the Franks and Turks, and of extortion to the Levantines. From this latter circumstance, I lost two opportunities of leaving Cyprus, by not acceding to the enormous demands made for my passage, and began to feel the effect of *malaria*. To counteract this, I joined a party, on the 8th of October, in an excursion into the mountains west of Larnica. The road lay at first through a plain in a dry gravelly soil, producing only olives, growing to a larger size than those I had seen in other parts of the Mediterranean: after continuing in the plain for three hours, we ascended very gently for three more to the convent of Sta. Thecla, where I slept during the night. I had in vain looked for cultivation: briars and olives were the only produce of the ground. A few rhododendrons flourished in the water courses we passed. A

miserable stone cottage now and then showed itself, where fig trees and vines were to be seen.

The peasantry ill looking. The men were dressed in a white canvass vest over a waistcoat of the same material, and a white linen turban on their heads. They wore the Albanian petticoat, similar to the Highland kilt, or the usual sharawcel or breeches of the Turks, and high boots, used, as I understood, to avoid the fatal venom of the serpents of the island*.

I found only an old Greek priest at the convent of Sta. Thecla, who from his dress I imagined was a peasant: he had two or three attendants with him. The convent was undergoing a repair, for the reception of an additional number of priests, and for a feast that was to take place in a few days in honour of the saint. I had supplied myself with provisions, and therefore did not intrude on him. He was an old man, of about sixty years of age, perfectly ignorant of all except his missal, which he could not read; he had learnt it by heart; it was all that was necessary. He was proud of his chapel, and pointed exultingly to the wretched

* See Walpole's Memoirs on Turkey, p. 80. Dr. Sibthorpe talks of only one species of venomous serpent, called *Kouphi* in Cyprus; he mentions six species of Coluber.

clauhs that adorned it. He left his pipe, to repeat evening prayers; and having finished them, took to it again. This seemed his only occupation. Though I had an interpreter with me, I could gain no information as to the state of the peasantry in his neighbourhood: what I saw was wretched.

Our party slept on boards; we rose early, continued our excursion towards the summit of the chain we had proposed to reach. In a short time, we were amongst myrtles in full bloom, and fir trees: there was nothing else to interest me for two hours, till we arrived at a space of ground cleared of wood, where was a square range of buildings belonging to one of the bishops, who literally kept a *table d'hôte* for some of the rich inhabitants, who had left the unwholesome plains to breathe the pure air of the hills. I was introduced to him, was invited to remain, and I dined with his party at twelve o'clock, without any thing worthy of remark passing. After which our party was increased by some of his, and we ascended to the summit of the mountain of the holy cross, where stood a small convent shut out, as it were, from the rest of the world; inhabited by two or three monks, who seemed to have no other occupation beyond saying their mass and watching the precious deposit of a small piece of the cross on which our Saviour was crucified. From the terrace of a small garden, in the rear of this convent, is an extensive view of part of the south side of the island, seen as

in a map; broken on all sides into gentle undulations of ground, highly appropriate to the growth of vines.

The capability of cultivation is easily observed; but large tracts remain neglected. My attention was directed towards Limason, where the richest wines are made; and I was led to understand, that the thinking part of the population looked forwards to the remainder of the island becoming equally fertile, by the presence of some European government, who would at least abstain from oppression, if it did not encourage industry.

Having showed my respect for the relic, which was uncovered in honour of my arrival, by a small present to one of the monks, I returned to the bishop's house, where I slept more luxuriously than on the preceding night; and having given a suitable remuneration in money, returned homewards; where, to my great delight, I found a small schooner bound to Malta, freighted by some Moorish merchants; on board which, as the stormy season of the year was approaching, I took my passage, being without chance of proceeding to Constantinople, except by land; first to the coast of Cyprus opposite Asia Minor, and thence again proceeding by land.

With regard to the mode of going to Constantinople or Smyrna in the way above alluded to, the traveller must understand, that though in Cyprus he is tolerably secure from

insult or danger, yet in Asia Minor he is at the mercy of the different agas and chiefs of the country through which he passes, for whom he must provide himself with presents. He must wear the Turkish dress, and accustom himself to Turkish manners; the roads are rarely free from banditti, or from the passage of troops; and he will not be exempt from plague. The vice-consul mentioned an English gentleman who had undertaken this journey, and finished it with safety. He occupied a few days in traversing the island to the port opposite the coast of Asia Minor; whence, having passed the sea, he arrived in a fortnight at Constantinople. I had neither time nor means of performing this interesting journey.

I had some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the Moors to my embarkation, as two of them had their female slaves on board: it was only on condition that I did not enter the cabin during the voyage. This being agreed on, I was allowed to embark; and was struck by the singularity of my adventure, in being as badly off in point of accommodation, at the end of three weeks, as when on board the vessel from Beirutte.

I went on board on the 15th of October, and, on the 2d of November, anchored in Marsamuscetta harbour at Malta. During the voyage I had never quitted the deck, fortunately having suffered but once from wet weather: the only circumstance that happened to interrupt it took place within

two or three miles of the mouth of the harbour of Valette, when we were brought to by a row-boat from Tripoli, then cruising against the Tunisians; and were literally obliged to exert ourselves for defence, to prevent being boarded within sight of the colours of the forts.

I found the four principal Moors were merchants from Morocco, two from Fez and two from Tetuan; high minded liberal men, whose conduct gave me a very different opinion of the Moors of that country, from those of the Barbary states. They had traded with Malta, Smyrna, and Cairo; where, having disposed of their merchandise, they had proceeded to Mount Libanon to purchase silk, which they had done to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars: they had freighted the schooner at Beirutte; had an Arab as a steward, a Mogadore slave as cook, and three negro boys as servants—and had given a passage to two Moors of Tunis. The provisions they had laid in for the voyage were in extravagant abundance, and their liberality in sharing it with the master of the schooner, at whose table I ate, enabled him to give me much better fare than he intended. The conversations I had with two of them related to some of our customs; and their remarks showed much good sense and observation.

Our system of bankruptcy astonished them: they were surprised that men who failed for large sums still wore good

clothes, lived well, and kept up their houses and establishments; they considered this unjust, and described the state to which a bankrupt was reduced in their country, where, till the last mite was paid, a creditor could at any distance of time take the clothes his debtor wore. They could not be persuaded, that in a great commercial nation such a law would be attended with ill effects. They described lending money at interest as contrary to their religion; and mentioned that they had narrowly escaped great loss, by taking bills for their money from Christians, in the countries they had traded with, on correspondents in other countries, who they afterwards found were known to be on the point of failure.

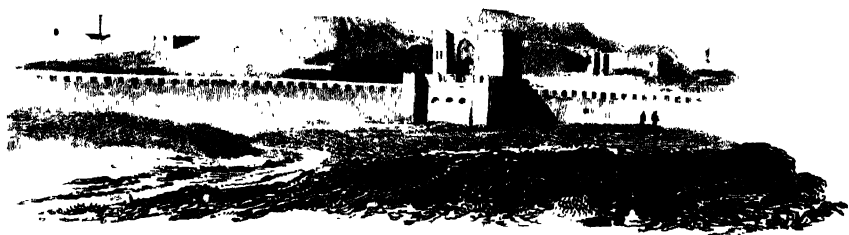
They spoke with respect of their Sultan, who was a devout man, peaceably inclined; but who, if attacked, could command the service of the whole population of his dominions. On this account, without at all undervaluing the discipline of European armies, they thought it impossible to be successfully invaded. Their Sultan administered justice himself, received petitions from the meanest peasants, and heard them with patience. They said there was a regular intercourse with Tombuctoo from the south-eastern confines of Morocco, whence caravans performed the journey in a month. The safety of a European might be secured by confiding in the chief of the caravan, reserving the reward for safe conduct till the traveller returned; of course presuming that he

would take the dress of a Moor, and conform entirely to the manners of the East.

With regard to their religion, though hatred to Christians was mixed with it, not unlikely from the memory of the persecutions of the Spaniards; yet their adherence to ceremonies, and the solemnity with which they performed them, could not but impress me with an idea of their sincerity. The pains they took with their slaves evinced a feeling for their condition which Europeans would do well to copy. The Mogadore slave had grown up in the family of his master, had been taught to read and write, and was always treated with kindness. He seemed to obey willingly. The lessons of his youth influenced him in manhood. His daily prayers were never omitted: when the work of the day was finished, I generally observed him apply to a book for amusement, either the Koran or some comment on it; and on Fridays, the sabbath of the Mahometans, he never failed to employ a great portion of the day in the same way.

The negro boys were equally attended to; their masters taught them to read, to repeat long prayers, and the ceremonies of their religion. This they did as a thing of course, and part of their duty as masters. The youngest boy, a child of not more than six or seven years of age, surprised me by repeating, with very little help, prayers and passages of the ~~Koran~~ for at least an hour at a time.

I took leave of these people with regret, though not at all sorry to be under cover at last; the rainy weather had begun. I landed in the lazaretto at Malta, after an absence of more than eight months.



CHAPTER VIII.

Military defences of Egypt and Syria, and political remarks.

THAT I might not interrupt the reader's progress, I have reserved for a separate chapter the few observations I had an opportunity of making, in the countries I had passed through, on their military defences.

As a military man, I could not but mark a great deficiency in the style of the Turkish fortifications, compared with those of Europe; but as obstacles to an Eastern enemy they may be considered formidable.

To begin with

ALEXANDRIA.

Previous to the English expedition against this town in 1807, it had been independent of the rulers of Egypt, and was under the command of a chief appointed by the Grand Signor; who, by this, had some hold on his rebellious tributaries. When we made our treaty with the Pasha of Egypt, and evacuated the country, it was given up to him; to whom its possession was of the greatest importance. He was now secure of a good port, and his attention was directed to the means of retaining it.

The Saracen walls and towers of the old town, called the Arab village, which was destroyed in the time of the French, have been repaired, strengthened, and connected; a dry ditch surrounds them. The walls are loop-holed. The Rosetta gate is defended by an orillon and strong battery. Another strong battery strengthens the point of union of the sea-wall of the western harbour with the land-wall. To this defence is added another line-wall, connecting a second series of Saracen towers, repaired, and made capable of receiving cannon in a similar manner to the Martello towers; and, traversing the isthmus in rear of the ruins of the Arab village, forms a land-front to the modern town of Alexandria.

To this is also a dry ditch. The scarp of each front is from thirty to forty feet, with a counterscarp of something more than half that height. The forts Cretan and Cafarelli*, batteries erected by the French on high artificial mounds of earth, are still kept in repair; they command all the approaches on the side beyond the heights in front of the outer wall, but appear useless if these were carried, which might be done, by a *coup de main*; and from them every part of the exterior fortifications may be enfiladed. It was to these heights the French were driven in the memorable battle of the 21st of March, 1801. To ensure the defence of these fortifications, barracks capable of containing three or four thousand men had been erected near the sea-wall within the outer enceinte: they would do credit to a European government, and consist of a handsome square, of two stories high, having a balcony round the whole first story. In the centre of the square was a mosque and fountain. It happened to be the hour of prayer when I visited these barracks: the mosque was filled with soldiers at their devotions. The

* According to Henry Blount, who travelled in Egypt in 1634, the two mounds of earth were formed from the wells, dug for the reception of the waters of the Nile. This conclusion is natural enough. The French of course took advantage of them, and constructed batteries on them. See Pinkerton's collection, ~~vol. x~~ p. 235, 4to.

plague, during the preceding summer, had reduced a garrison of two thousand men to rather more than six hundred ; these were well clothed and armed, had rations allowed them, and some steps taken towards introducing the European discipline, of which the first was to establish musters.

Though the entrance to the eastern harbour of Alexandria is said to be defended by the two castles of the Pharos bearing the name of greater and less, yet it is only the former that may be considered a fort : this, situated at the north side of the harbour, stands at the end of a long causeway of several hundred yards : on its outer side may be observed part of ancient foundations. On each side of the causeway, walls of twelve or fourteen feet high, with a sort of battlement, protect the passage to the Great Pharos ; capable of some resistance ; and, if properly defended, would render it difficult for vessels to enter or quit the harbour, as there is no depth of water except within pistol shot.

The sea has a free passage under the causeway by small arches ; and the force of the waves from the Mediterranean is broken by a ridge of rocks.

The fort itself, or, as it is called, the castle, was in ruins : it consisted of an outer square, casemated, forming the sea-front ; behind which was a second enclosure, commanding the first : in the centre a square building rises high above the rest of the works, having turrets at the angles. This

building contained apartments and corridors in ruin, which might be turned into, good barracks. The tomb of Chaid Bey, the builder of the castle, was shown in one of the rooms leading to the mosque of the castle, and is held in great veneration. Eight or nine guns and one mortar, in an unserviceable state, are mounted on different parts of the works. The officer of the bey who attended me round them, said it was the Pasha's intention to repair them.

ROSETTA.

Rosetta can scarcely be said to have any fortifications. That part of the town entered during our unfortunate expedition in 1807, has been strengthened by a low brick wall, of about three or four feet thick, on which a few old guns were mounted. The ends of streets are closed by gates and mud walls, by which a free communication with the exterior is cut off.

CAIRO.

At Cairo, besides the citadel at the extremity of the town towards the Mokattam; which remains in the same

neglected state as that described by former travellers, there is a square fort newly erected on the east side of the Mokattam, commanding it. It is approached from the intervening valley by a sloping causeway, about sixteen feet broad, on high narrow arches, whose intermediate space is strengthened by buttresses. The fort is retired about a hundred yards from the crest of the hill, and the ground in front is cut away into an esplanade. It has bastions and curtains of small dimensions, and would be large enough for a European garrison of four hundred men; though that number would be considerably augmented where the defenders are Turks. It is of masonry, casemated, and bomb-proof against small shells: the walls about twelve feet thick, with loop-holes in parts admitting them. No guns were mounted, though there was space enough in the flanks to place them if required. The other parts of the Mokattam behind command the fort at about musquet-shot distance; but the neighbouring ground is completely isolated, and might be fortified so as to form a mutual support with the fort. This was without cistern or well; but the Turkish engineer was about to make one. There is a sally-port to the east, and to the west was the principal entrance. The desert adjoins the Mokattam.

The confidence of the Pasha's ministers in the English made them allow me to remain several days in the fort; and the engineer showed me his plans, which were well-drawn.

He was a Turk, bred up in the military school at Constantinople, and seemed diligent in the superintendence of his work. The workmen were divided into parties, under task-masters, who enforced their industry by blows. A number of male and female children were employed in bringing up the light materials, in baskets on their heads, for the workmen; were regularly led backwards and forwards in files; and whilst in motion, were obliged to sing praises of the Pasha; which they did, accompanying their voices with a clapping of hands.

DAMIETTA.

The entrance to the Damietta branch of the Nile is guarded by two Martello towers, enclosed in a circular battery. That on the Delta side was built by the French, of masonry; and, including the battery, mounts about seven or eight guns; is well situated to defend the mouth of the river, and is protected from shipping at sea. The tower on the right bank appeared larger; is built of brick; and contains a mosque within the outer enclosure. About a mile from the entrance of the Damietta branch on the Syrian side, is a large fort, of irregular shape, close to the river, and situated amongst marshy land intersected by ditches. It was

said to have been repaired or enlarged, if not entirely built, by the French. I had just time to make a few observations on the interior, when I was forced out by the Turkish soldiers of the garrison. This caution against the discovery of its neglected state was natural; every thing was allowed to go to ruin. There were many guns, but all badly mounted, and in appearance old: those towards the river *en barbette*. The fort was revetted with brick, and without ditch or covert way; its scarp, about twenty feet, commanding all the country round, and the approach to it rendered difficult by the nature of the ground. It seemed to me between one and two hundred yards across, in its widest part; and capable of containing a garrison of three or four thousand men, but which, at that time, was not more than thirty or forty soldiers. It had a good range of barracks, a mosque, and detached houses. The walls were weak. The principal entrance was from the river, and there was another on the south side.

JAFFA.

Since the attack and capture of Jaffa by the French, it has been much strengthened, both by Djézzar Pasha and the ruling aga. The new works are to the west of the town, and consist of round towers, connected by curtains of masonry,

with dry ditch and counterscarp, about fourteen feet in depth. Behind this are other towers of older date, not very strong; but commanding the advanced works, and considerably increasing the means of defence; they are Saracenic and picturesque. The guns and carriages I saw were in the usual bad condition of Eastern nations, those to the sea totally unfit for service. The town itself is entirely enclosed on the land side with old walls and towers of the Saracenic sort, and are intermixed with the houses of the town. A sea battery to the north-west, said to have been strengthened in the time of Sir Sidney Smith by a strong wall with casemates and loop-holed, was pointed out to me under the name of the English battery; by which it was known for a long time, till the present aga forbade it on pain of punishment; and it was here that the French are said to have entered, when they stormed and captured the town.

The garrison consisted of about two hundred and fifty soldiers, by whose means the aga appears to affect independence of the present Pasha of Acri, though nominally subject to him. He is severe, and keeps them in great subjection. According to various accounts I heard, all women of the town were forbidden; each soldier is obliged to attach himself to some woman, either by marriage or concubinage, to whose support the aga contributes; but all promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was punished with the greatest seve-

city, even to death, by throwing the offenders into the sea. The slightest liberty of look or speech was punished with bastinado. The soldiers keep a watch by night, patrolling the town and walls, and proclaiming at intervals that all is right; but, as in all Turkish towns, there were no sentries.

JERUSALEM.

. This town is surrounded by walls of stone, with battlements consisting of square towers at intervals, without cannon. It is commanded in all directions: the walls seem intended only to repel the incursions of Arabs, and appear to have been built as far back as in the time of the Crusades. In the foundations are stones of immense size, and some of the salient angles are strengthened by layers of a size much larger than the rest, and corresponding with those of the foundation. An escalade would be difficult on the north, south, and east, from the ravines which lie beneath them. The castle, also apparently of the earliest times after the Crusades, is situated on the south-west end of the town, on Mount Sion. It is composed of towers, connected by curtains, which form two or three enclosures, the interior successively commanding the exterior: a few old guns mounted on carriages, equally old and unserviceable, were on the walls.

ACRI.

The improvements made by Djezzar, in the fortifications of this town, would now enable it to withstand any siege carried on by land; but an attack by sea at the same time would destroy its means of defence in a few days.

Its situation on a point of land is favourable; it is enclosed towards the land, from sea to sea, by the old walls and battlements, which opposed the entrance of the French. In front are others added by Djezzar, consisting of square towers of inconsiderable size, connected by curtains, forming a second line, commanded by the old works. Both are of masonry. The scarp of the second line may be about thirty feet; in front of which is a dry ditch, thirty feet broad, with counterscarp about eighteen feet deep. This line extends in two long sides, forming a salient angle to the country. The guns appear old, and placed without any arrangement. The weakest points are near the sea; that on the right, where the principal land entrance is made, is covered by an orillon and double flank. The left is washed by the sea, where the water is low; but the approach is rendered difficult by a palisade.

The sea front is composed of a lower line wall with em-

embrasures, behind which is a Saracenic wall with battlements. The harbour for small vessels lies between the land front and the town, is formed by a ruined mole and light-house, connected with the interior walls of the town. On these was one gun *en barbette*; five embrasures appeared in the nearest face of the first bastion of the outer line, and two in the flank*.

Tiberias is enclosed, except on that side bordering on the lake, by an old wall of irregular extent, flanked by round towers with battlements, of the same style and apparent age, as those of Jerusalem. There are no guns. It was under the command of an aga, who had served in the army of Djezzar, and spoke of him in terms of admiration: there were a few soldiers under him.

LA RNICA.

A small casemated battery, level with the water, defends the approach to the beach of La Scala. Of the other parts

* Acri, the Acco of Scripture, Ptolemais of the Greeks, in the time of Pococke had no walls, being contrary to the interest of the Arabs, who by this would have been hindered from entering; yet, immediately afterwards he talks of remains of modern works. Pinkerton, vol. x. p. 446.

of the island that are fortified, I am not able to speak. Famagusta is celebrated for the siege it stood against the Turks, and for the barbarous treatment its governor endured from them after its surrender. It is still called a fortified town. Nicosia the capital is walled round, but neither would stand a regular siege.

Before I conclude this chapter, I shall add a few words on the political state of the possessions of the Turks in this quarter of the world. Could the interests of Great Britain be ensured, the delivery of Syria and Cyprus from the Turkish rulers, by any European power, would be an advantage to the world: that power is now looked for in the shape of Russia. Prophecy, still existing in the East in full force, bids the Mahometan beware of Russia, who is to swallow up all that the Turkish government possesses, and to plant its colonies in Syria. The jealousies and fears of all the chiefs in that country are directed against Russia; and they appeared to dread the overthrow of the French ruler, whose power prevented her from turning her arms against the Turks. Lord Bacon, in his Essay on Prophecies, says, "they are not to be despised, for they have done much mischief." When he wrote, the state of Europe was not so enlightened as it now is: he considered it involved in ignorance, and subject to enthusiasm. In that condition Syria remains. If the emir of Mount Libanon be not first induced to become a tributary

to Russia, it might be possible to assist him in such a manner as to induce all the Christians to flock to his standard ; and by enabling him to become a powerful and independent prince, the Turkish power might be greatly reduced in that quarter. Of the consequences I cannot presume to judge. The possessors of Syria would have advantageous means of gaining Egypt if they chose to exert them. The effects of any European power possessing the latter country have been dreaded on our part, and prevented by our armies. The present chief of Egypt would be able and willing to resist the attempts of a Christian state on Syria ; but if it were once in such hands, he could not long remain independent ; particularly as the natives, ever ready to change masters, would be inclined to receive a European force with open arms. To us neither Egypt nor Syria seem necessary ; therefore it appears our interest to assist in making him independent, and to strengthen him in every possible way. He is disposed to favour the English more than any other European power, because he has no jealousy of us with regard to his own territory, and is convinced we shall prevent, as much as we can, any other from invading him. His character has been already described ; and therefore I will conclude by observing, that whilst Egypt on one side, and the emir of Mount Libanon on the other, are disposed to unite with us, there seems to be no fear of any other power obtaining Syria.

The possession of Cyprus might easily be acquired by any government having a navy. If it were wrested from the Turks, with a certainty of not being given up at peace, it would soon become a flourishing country: the population would be increased by swarms of Greek emigrants from Asia Minor, who would gladly fly to an asylum from the tyranny of their oppressors; and if their industry were encouraged, would soon fertilize the barren waste overrunning one half the island. The unwholesomeness of the air may be remedied by draining the marshes that cause it. In the time of the Venetians this was done, and the *mal aria* was not felt. Circumstances may hereafter oblige Great Britain to strengthen herself in the Mediterranean; and, for the richness of soil and general advantages to be derived from it, Cyprus may be considered more valuable to her than either Syria or Egypt.

I AM indebted to DR. YOUNG for the following explanation of the foregoing Inscriptions, which he has allowed me to present to the Public.

No. I. in the quarries at Gartaas, under the right figure in the rock.

“ Marcus Aurelius, Verus, Antoninus, or brother of Verus, son of Antoninus.

“ The homage this day paid: Muschas, priest of the place, does this for good fortune; with his wife and his children; and Palestes his son; and for his brothers and his friends; and for Petchas, prefect of the Nome: in the tenth sacerdotal year; the 20th of Tybi: (the gate was erected for the protection of the place by the neighbourhood.)” The end is obscure: if we are to read “**TOMOY**” perhaps it may mean a quarry; the whole inscription is very inaccurate.

No. II. under the left figure, intended for something like the homage of Beomrion, priest of the place, and Apollonius, besides for his brothers and his mother, and Panuis his father, and Senpetosiris, and those who love me, and all those of the place: the third year of Alexander, the 14th Phamenoth.

Over this figure, “ Macrinus himself, priest of the places, eight ounces of gold,” (or eighty ounces).

No. III. “ The homage of Resas Ronpameus, priest of the place, and of those who love him; and he made the dedication (**ΚΑΘΙΔΥCIN**) of the temple of Phœretria with good omens ‘**LKR**’ 17 Pharmuthi, according to the ancients;

and Resas Peteesi;" perhaps rather Cesas and Phœcetria: the "ancients" probably relates to the old or vague Egyptian year, "LK" may be the "20th year" of his priesthood.

No. IV. "The homage or homages of the noble Marinus, priest of the places: the father of the priests, to whom none of the priests is to be compared: he gave in the twelfth year of his priesthood thirty drachms of gold, and the other years seven (or five) drachms of gold, together with his wife and his children. In the 12th year, the 3d of Pachons (Pharmuthi according to the ancients). The Pharmuthi of that day would rather have been the ancient Pachons." (ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ ΚΑΤΑΡΧΕΩ) appears in a separate inscription, omitted in the collection.

No. V. "The 4th year of Antoninus.

"The homage of Apollonius Soter, a counsellor, and my mother, and my wife, and my children, and my son Soter, who is also made a priest, during my life time, and my brothers, and my cattle, and in short all my concerns: and if Panechimis, the prefect of the Nome, and Tithoes Phœbetus, my friend: the 27th of Phamenoth."

On the west column of north front of temple at Gartaas,

TO ΠΡΟΚΥΝΗΜΑ...

The rest not intelligible. ΠΑΧΥΝ perhaps for the month ΠΑΧΩΝ: <ΙΟ seems in other inscriptions to belong to the date: L is also a character denoting a drachm, now 3; and it has probably passed through some intermediate forms.

At Galabshee (by Mr. Legh called Kalaptschi) the word ΚΩΛΗΗ), described by him page 187, 8vo edition, as placed over the representation of a head sculptured in the centre of the end wall of the temple, cannot be made Greek; but ΚΩΛΗΗΕ, in page 66, part i. of this work, seems more manageable,

and may be read Κ. ΕΛΕΗC, "Lord have mercy:" in reference to the head of Christ. ΚΛΛΛHC of the Greek Papyrus agrees very well with this, except that the second Ε, √, has an ascending stroke, Λ.

North column of portico, No. I. "Be it prosperous, Lord! The homage of Vulsilius Cassius Celer, a knight of the first Theban cohort, that finest troop of horse; for himself, and his son, and his brothers; may they be safe from envy; and for all that belong to him, at the feet of the Lord Amenduli; and for his horse."

Page 66. . Π . ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΕΠΑΡΩ. "The homage of Julian, prefect."

INSCRIPTIONS AT DUKKEY.

No. I. "Callimachus, the son of Hermon, came at the same time, and worshipped the same deity; the 32d year of Cæsar; Phaophi."

No. II. "Apollonius, the son of Apollonius, commander of the Ombite Nome and of the country about Elephantine and Philæ, came and worshipped Hermes."

No. III. "I Hercules, otherwise . . . Nero . . came and worshipped Hermes the great god."

No. IV. . . . "The mighty god Hermes . . . year 20 of the emperor Adrian . . our Lord: the 18th of Tybi."

No. V. Something like "Mponius the scribe of Philæ, the son of Capito; and I worshipped the mighty god Hermes, and made the homages of all the

rest (of my family) and my friends: the 10th year of Tiberius Cæsar; the 5th of Paoni.

No. VI. "I came (and) worshipped the mighty god Hermes."

Over the portico, described page 71, in the place where the winged globe is usually represented. "For the safety and glory of king (Ptolemy)—the god . . ." "ΥΠΕΡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . . . ΘΕΟ . . ."

At Deir, in the opening of a vault in the rock, described page 78. "I Paul have written this," in Thebaic: the only Egyptian characters which appear in these inscriptions, unless we read, in page 66, ΚΖΗΝΤΙC; "thou art the face of Jesus:" but it will scarcely bear this reading.

No. II. at Deir, page 78. Perhaps the first word ought to be ΕΛΕΗCON: at any rate the sense must be nearly, "Jesus Christ have mercy on those that belong to thy servant Anthony."

N O T E

IN

EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST INSCRIPTION AT DUKKEY,

BY

L'ABBÉ BOYER, MALTA.

“ LE simple titre de César, donné au prince, designé dans l' inscription, et plus encore l' année 32^e de son gouvernement, doivent faire croire qu'il s'agit de César Auguste, et qu'il faut compter cette 32^e année de la mort de Jules César. Ετους ἈΒ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΟΣ ΦΛΟΦΙ. Or Jules César fut tué le 13^e Mars de l' an de l' ere Varro-nien 710, 44 ans avant l' ere vulgaire: c'est donc par rapport à ce jour la qu'il faut, calculer le 32^e année de son successeur, mais en ayant égard à la méthode Egyptienne commune pour le fond à tous les Orientaux. Ces peuples comptoient pour une année du regne de leurs souverains le tems écoulé depuis le jour de leur avènement au trône jusqu'au jour ou commençait leur année civile; et à ce premier jour de leur année civile ils commençaient à compter la seconde année de leur regne, (la première année ayant fini la vieille pour eux.)

“ Ainsi en supposant qu' à la mort de Jules César l' année Egyptienne fut déjà fixe, et que le premier jour répondit deslors au 29^e du mois d' Août, quatorze

ans après, les Egyptiens auroient pu compter la seconde année de César Auguste dès le 29^e Août de la même année 710 de Rome.

“ Je fais cette supposition pour plus de clarté, quoiqu'elle soit fausse dans la rigueur; mais on verra bientôt qu'elle nous conduit sûrement à la decouverte de la 32^e année d' Auguste; puisque la 29^e Août de l' an 710 de Rome est supposé le premier jour de la seconde année d' Auguste; le 29^e Août de l' an 740 de Rome sera le premier jour de la 32^e année de ce Prince.

“ Il nous faut maintenant trouver le mois $\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Phi\text{I}$, ou plutot $\Pi\Lambda\Omega\Phi\text{I}$.

“ Ce mois est le second du Calendrier Egyptien, et comme le mois précédent est ainsi que tous les autres de 30 jours; dans la supposition que le premier mois ait commencé le 29^e du mois d' Août, $\Pi\Lambda\Omega\Phi\text{I}$ aura commencé le 28^e Septembre, et aura duré jusqu' au 28^e d' Octobre.

“ L' époque de l' inscription est donc assez probablement de l' an 740 de Rome, 14 ans avant l' ere vulgaire, sous le consulat de Lentulus et Crassus; il faut cependant pour plus de précision encore dire que l' année 32^e Egyptienne d' Auguste, ayant commencé non le 29^e d' Août, mais le 30^e de ce mois, parceque l' année suivante, 741 de Rome, devoit être bissextile; le mois $\Pi\Lambda\Omega\Phi\text{I}$ commença le 29^e de Septembre, et finit le 29^e d' Octobre.

“ Il faut nous contenter de cette approximation, puisque nous n' avons pas le jour du mois $\Pi\Lambda\Omega\Phi\text{I}$; mais si nous voulons nous permettre de conjecturer qu' apres $\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Phi\text{I}$ il y avoit quelque lettre facile à disparoître par le laps du tems, comme seroit un autre iota par exemple, nous aurions $\Pi\Lambda\Omega\Phi\text{II}$, c'est à dire, le 10^e de $\Pi\Lambda\Omega\Phi\text{I}$, ou le 9^e d' Octobre, si nous supposons un H ou le 8, ce seroit le 7^e du même mois, et IH ou 18 donneroit le 17^e.

“ Il ne faut pas oublier qu' après le nom du mois, le quatrième étoit certainement exprimé, et la conjecture la plus modeste est celle qui se contente des caracteres qui s' effacent plutôt, comme le sont I ou H.

“ Mais revenant sur nos pas, et voyons jusqu' à quel point nous avons pû nous écarter de la verité, en supposant que la seconde année d' Auguste commença le 26^e d' Août de l' an 700 de Rome.

“ Il faut avouer d'abord qu' à cette époque là quoique les Egyptiens eussent donné aux Romains, l' admirable méthode d' intercaler un jour tous les quatre ans, pour fixer à peu près l' année solaire, il faut avouer dis-je que l' année 710 étoit une année vague pour les Egyptiens.—C'est à dire, que par le défaut de cette même intercalation qu'ils savoient néanmoins faire connoître à Jules César, leurs années remontoient tous les quatre ans d' un jour dans le calendrier. De sorte que le premier jour de leur année qui l' an 747 avant l' ere vulgaire avoit été le 26 de Février, étoit remonté au 3 de Septembre cette même année 710 de Rome, ou 44 avant nôtre ere.

“ Ainsi il n'est pas vrai dans la rigueur du calcul que l' année 2^{de} d' Auguste ait commencé le 29^e d' Août de l' an 710 de Rome, comme je l' ai supposé, mais seulement cinq jours plus tard comme je viens de la dire. Néanmoins on verra dans l' instant que cette différence dans la fixation rigoureuse des premières années Egyptiennes de l' empire d' Auguste n' influe nullement comme je l' avois avancé, sur le rapport précis du commencement de la 32^e année Egyptienne de l' empire de ce prince, avec l' année Julienne dont nous nous servons.

“ Il suffit pour cela de savoir que cette progression rétrograde du calendrier Egyptien fut arrêté l' an 724 de Rome, c'est à dire, 16 ans avant l' année 740, qui nous occupe actuellement, le premier jour de l' année Egyptienne fut alors irrévocablement fixé au 29^e du mois d' Août dans les années Juliennes, ou Bissextiles, ou premières et secondes après les Bissextiles; et au 30^e de ce même mois dans les troisièmes, ou celles qui précédoient immédiatement les Bissextiles.

“ Ainsi tout se réduit à dire qu' depuis la 2^{de} d' Auguste jusqu'à la 16^e, qui tomba l' année de Rome 724, les années de son empire se sont raccourcies d' un jour tous les quatre ans, et que leur jour initial est ainsi remonté du 3^e de Septembre au 29^e d' Août dans le calendrier Romain. Mais depuis cette année 724 le 29^e ou le 30^e d' Août respectivement sont à jamais devenus le premier jour des années Egyptiennes. Donc pour resumer, la 2^{de} année d' Auguste a commencé le 3^e de Septembre 710, et la 32^e a commencé le 30^e d' Août 740; parceque cette année précédoit immédiatement l' année Bissextile Romaine;

comme l'on trouve dans plusieurs inscriptions de la haute Egypte les noms de quelques autres mois.

“Voici leurs noms et leurs rapports avec les mois Romains depuis que l'année Egyptienne est devenue fixe, l'année vingt neuf avant l'ère vulgaire.

ΘΩΘ, ou ΘΩΤΘ,	de 30 jours, commence le	29 ou 30 d' Août.
ΠΑΩΦΙ, ou ΦΑΩΦΙ,	de 30	28 ou 29 de Septembre.
ΑΘΤΡ, ou ΑΘΝΡ,	de 30	28 ou 29 d' Octobre.
ΧΟΙΑΚ,	de 30	27 ou 28 Novembre.
ΤΥΒΙ, ou ΤΗΒΙ,	de 30	27 ou 28 Décembre.
ΜΕΧΕΙΡ,	de 30	26 ou 27 Janvier.
ΦΑΜΕΝΩΘ,	de 30	25 ou 26 Fevrier.
ΦΑΡΜΟΤΘΙ,	de 30	27 de Mars.
ΠΑΧΩΝ,	de 30	26 Avril.
ΠΑΤΝΙ,	de 30	26 Mai.
ΕΠΙΦΙ,	de 30	25 Juin.
ΜΕΣΟΡΙ,	de 30	25 Juillet.
Επαγυμηναι,	5	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, d' Août.

pour les années communes. Et pour celles qui précèdent le Bissextille, six jours, i. e. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, d' Août.

“L'année Julienne Bissextille fait remonter d'un jour le commencement de *φάρμουρι* et des mois suivans, c'est à dire, 26^e Mars, 26^e Avril, &c.

“On peut ajouter deux remarques quoique jusqu'à un certain point superflues.

“La première, que le rapport du mois ΠΑΩΦΙ de la 32^e d' Auguste au calendrier Julien est absolument independant de celui qu'à pu avoir celui de la 2^e, 3^e, &c.

“La seconde, qu'il n'est pas nécessaire pour constater le rapport de ce mois dans la 32^e année d' Auguste, que les Egyptiens se soient regardés à la mort de César comme sujets de son successeur; parcequ'il suffit pour cela qu'ils fussent

assujettis au prince à l'époque marquée dans l'inscription, et qu'ils aient du en rétrogradant compter la 32^e année de la manière dont je crois qu'ils se sont servis.

“ Quelque soit le commencement de l'empire d'Auguste, du quel les Egyptiens comptaient la 32^e année, soit la mort de César, soit la bataille de Pharsalie, soit la bataille d'Actium, soit la conquête d'Egypte, le rapport du mois ΠΑΣΧΙ de la 32^e année sera toujours le même avec le mois Julien.

THE END.

